The Complementation of the Verb *Propose* in Recent British English

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MA Thesis
January 2015

Tampereen yliopisto
Englannin kielen, kirjallisuuden ja kääntämisen tutkinto-ohjelma
Kieli-, käännös- ja kirjallisuustieteiden yksikkö

SAARIMÄKI, VEERA: The Complementation of the Verb *Propose* in Recent British English

Pro gradu -tutkielma, 109 sivua
Tammikuu 2015

Tässä pro gradu –tutkielmassa keskitytään selvittämään *propose*-verbin käyttäytymistä 1780-luvulta nykypäivään komplementaation näkökulmasta. Tutkielman pääasiallisena tarkoituksena on valottaa verbin komplementaatiossa noin 200 vuoden aikana tapahtuneita muutoksia sekä luoda yleiskatsaus sen komplementaatiorakenteeseen tämän päivän brittienglannissa.

Ensisijaisena tutkimusmateriaalina käytetään kahta korpusta: historiallinen materiaali koostuu 1710-1920-luvuilta tekstejä sisältävästä The Corpus of Late Modern English Texts –korpuksesta (CLMET) haetuista esiintymistä, kun taas nykypäivän esimerkkien lähteenä on 1960-1990-luvut kattava The British National Corpus (BNC). Näistä aiempi on jaettu kolmeen 70 vuoden ajanjaksoon, joista tässä tutkimuksessa käytetään kahta jälkimmäistä. Jotta nykypäivän data vastaisi rakenteeltaan mahdollisimman hyvin kaunokirjallisista teksteistä koostuvaa historiallista dataa, rajataan materiaalihaut BNC:ssä koskemaan ainoastaan kaunokirjallista osa-aluetta.

Tutkielman alkupuolisko koostuu tutkimusta pohjustavasta teoriaosuudesta sekä sanakirjoihin ja kielioppiteoksiin pohjautuvasta alustavasta analyysistä. Näiden avulla rakennetaan lähtökohta omalle tutkimukselle, joka on pääosassa tutkielman toisessa puoliskossa. Tutkimusosio etenee kronologisesti vanhemmasta datasta tuoreempaan: aikaisimman datan analyysin yhteydessä muodostetaan alustava, kattava kokonaiskuva *propose*-verbin käyttäytymisestä autenttisessa ympäristössä, jota tarkennetaan myöhempien osioiden sisältämän vertailun perusteella.

Tutkimuksessa havaittiin, että *propose*-verbin käyttö on yleisesti vähentynyt 1780-luvulta nykypäivää lähestyttäessä. Verbin yleisin komplementti on *to*-infinitiivi, joka on vahvistanut asemaansa ensimmäisellä ajanjaksolla samassa tilanteessa olevaan nominilausekkeeseen (NP) nähden. Näiden kahden lisäksi *propose*-verbin yleisiä komplementteja ovat *that*-lauseke, intransitiivista käyttöä kuvaava ∅ sekä *to* + NP –lauseke. *That*-lausekkeen osuus kaikista komplementeista on vähentynyt, kun taas ∅ on kasvattanut osuuttaan tasaisesti 1780-luvulta alkaen. *To* + NP –lauseke on *propose*-verbin komplementeista ainoa, joka on yleistynyt käytössä myös tekstien sanamäärään eikä ainoastaan muihin komplementtivaihtoehtoihin suhteutettuna. Komplementtirakenteen lisäksi tutkimusmateriaalista nousi tärkeänä löydöksenä esiin *propose*-verbin monimuotoiset kontrolliominaisuudet.

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1 Introduction

In the field of modern English linguistics it is generally acknowledged that, as heads of phrasal constructions, verbs have an effect on some of the items that follow them. Consider the following authentic examples drawn from the Corpus of Late Modern English Texts (hereafter the CLMET):

(1) [H]e at last *proposed* to his leader that they should return as soon as the rain abated. (1843 Ainsworth, *Windsor Castle*)
(2) Several men had the wit to *propose* marriage to her with more or less skilfulness. (1908 Bennett, *The Old Wives' Tale*)

Sentences (1) and (2) illustrate some of the ways in which the verb *propose* can be used in recent British English. The underlined items represent what are in this thesis called *complements*.

To give evidence on the idea that a verb defines some of the structures that can co-occur with it, namely the complements, we might try to replace *propose* with some other verb and see whether the sentences remain grammatical:

(1') *[H]e at last *believed* to his leader that they should return as soon as the rain abated.
(2') *Several men had the wit to *believe* marriage to her with more or less skilfulness.

As we can see, both of the sentences have become unacceptable from the point of view of grammaticality. In this thesis, the phenomenon just exemplified is studied in detail. The grammar of *propose* is examined carefully to acquire a comprehensive understanding of the ways in which this verb has been used in the English language from the end of the eighteenth century onwards.

I begin by discussing corpora and corpus linguistics in general, including the corpora used in this study, i.e. the CLMET and the British National Corpus (hereafter the BNC). Chapter 3 focuses more closely on complementation, defining the concept as well as introducing some of the most prominent existing theories in the field. In Chapter 4, the thesis moves from the more general discussion to consulting influential dictionaries and grammars for an initial idea of the behaviour of *propose*. Chapter 5, then, consists of the analysis of authentic corpus data drawn from the two sources mentioned above. The data covers approximately 200 years of written text, starting from 1780. The theoretical background introduced in the former chapters function as the basis for the

analysis. Finally, Chapter 6 provides some concluding remarks and ideas for further research.

In writing this thesis and conducting a relatively large study on the complementation of *propose* I hope to create a clarified image of the variety of uses the verb has. My other goal is to draw attention to the importance of patterns rather than individual words in language acquisition. According to Hunston (2002, 173), the use of patterns might be the main reason for "a sense of non-idiomaticity in English" for advanced learners. By studying complementation patterns we can make people aware of the existence of these constructions, which will hopefully improve language teaching strategies in the long run.

2 Corpora and corpus linguistics

This chapter provides an outline of corpora and corpus linguistics. The reasons for the prominence of corpus linguistics in the field of linguistic research are considered by introducing both the pros and cons of using corpora as primary sources. The chapter ends by taking a closer look at the two corpora used in this thesis, the CLMET and the BNC.

2.1 Introducing corpus linguistics

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (hereafter the *OED*) (s.v. *corpus*), a corpus is "[a] body or complete collection of writings or the like; the whole body of literature on any subject", and more specifically, "the body of written or spoken material upon which a linguistic analysis is based". Relating to this latter sense, the *OED* entry also provides a definition for corpus linguistics: "the branch of linguistics concerned with analysis of corpora as a means of studying language". However, Lindquist (2009, 1) considers corpus linguistics to be a methodology rather than a branch of linguistics, as the word *corpus* does not refer to the subject of the study in the same way as *socio* does in *sociolinguistics*, for example. This idea of corpus linguistics as a methodology is also visible in Leech (1968, 88), as he refers to corpora as "sources of data". Corpus linguistics, i.e. searching corpora for material, would then be a method for retrieving data for a study. Furthermore, Leech (ibid.) compares using corpora to two other methods of linguistic research, namely native informant tests and introspection. Tognini-Bonelli (2001, 1), on the other hand, points out that corpus linguistics can be seen as a border-case between a branch of linguistics and a methodology, as there are certain views and theories that seem to be closely related to using corpora.

As the definition of a corpus in the *OED* being very general suggests, there are many different types of corpora. Tognini-Bonelli (2001, 2) states that the texts in a corpus are usually not randomly selected, but are instead chosen on the basis of a set of criteria, taking the intended purpose of the corpus into account. For example, there are corpora that only consist of either written or spoken language, historical corpora, and corpora designed to shed light on or help with second language

learning, just to mention some of the types listed by Lindquist (2009, 11). Furthermore, Lindquist (2009, 26) mentions that corpora can be used as a source of data to various extents depending on the purpose of the study. The corpus-driven approach relies on corpus data the most, as very little theoretical background is used and the ideas and conclusions are derived from what can be found in the corpus itself, as Storjohann (2005, 4-5) explains. Storjohann (2005, 8) goes on to state that in the corpus-based approach, the corpus is seen as "an inventory of language data". Both Storjohann (ibid.) and Lindquist (2009, 26) bring up the idea that in this method, the researcher already has a theory or an intuition which they want to either confirm, prove wrong, or specify further. According to Lindquist (ibid.), the third approach can be called either corpus-aided or corpus-supported, and it takes the least advantage of corpora, as the data is mainly used for illustrative purposes.

2.2 Advantages and issues

As with all theories and methodologies, there are both upsides and downsides to using corpora in research. However, as will shortly be seen, the advantages easily outweigh the issues in this case, as some of the critique that has been presented can be argued to be completely irrelevant to the usefulness of corpora as sources of data.

One of the main advantages of corpora is their size. According to Svartvik (1992, 7), before corpus linguistics was made possible – or at least easier – by the developments in technology, some linguists collected interesting sentences that they had heard or read somewhere on slips of paper, and then used those as data in their analysis. However, the total amount of data could never be high enough for all linguistic features to be represented in it, as Svartvik (1992, 9) points out. Although some very rare features might still be missing from even the largest of corpora, the coverage is definitely better than with paper slips: Leech (1968, 94) notes that "complete verifiability has long been acknowledged to be too high a goal in the testing of scientific theories". Relating to the size of material contained in a corpus, Lindquist (2009, 25) lists the speed and accuracy of computerised searches as advantages of electronic corpora: instead of going through piles of paper, one can just

type in a search string and let the computer do the work.

Some problems, however, arise from the automatisation of conducting searches: tagging, recall, and precision. For example, if one wants to look for a syntactic pattern in which, instead of a certain verb, any verb occurs in the third person singular form, the corpus needs to be tagged for parts-of-speech and their subclasses. Tagging a multimillion-word corpus manually is not a simple task, and taggers have been developed to do this for us. As Biber et al. (1998, 262) point out, these programs sometimes fail to tag words correctly, as they choose the tag based on information coded into them. In ambiguous or otherwise non-standard situations, the tagger chooses the tag it considers to be the most likely. According to Biber et al. (ibid.) the accuracy of most taggers ranges from mid-90 % to almost 100 %. They go on to state that whenever studying a phenomenon that could be affected by the incorrectness of tags, special attention should be paid to them and errors should be corrected.

Two issues that tagging problems can be the cause of are poor precision and recall. These have to do with the hits that a search string retrieves. Ball (1994, 295) defines precision as "the proportion of retrieved material that is relevant" and recall as "the proportion of relevant information that was retrieved". She goes on to state that it is relatively easy to deal with precision problems, at least as long as the number of tokens is not very high, as one can go through the data manually and discard irrelevant cases from the material analysed. On the other hand, poor recall is much more difficult to notice, as the researcher cannot know how many relevant tokens were not retrieved by the search string, unless they go through the whole corpus manually. This, of course, is often not an option. The search string should thus always be a product of careful consideration.

Because the effects of these problems can quite easily be minimised if one knows about them, emphasis should be placed on the advantages of corpora. In addition to the upsides mentioned at the beginning of this section, Svartvik (1992, 8-9) provides an impressive list of the benefits of corpora in linguistic research. Some of the advantages that he mentions are that conclusions made on the basis of corpus analysis are more objective than those made based on introspection; results can

easily be verified by other linguists; one can analyse differences between registers, genders, and dialects if the corpus provides such information on the speakers or writers of the texts; and the frequencies of phenomena can be confirmed. Furthermore, as Svartvik (1992, 10) points out, corpora include material that would otherwise not be accessible to everybody and they provide an irreplaceable source of data for non-native linguists, who cannot fully rely on introspection.

2.3 Normalising frequencies

Because the raw frequencies, i.e. the raw numbers of tokens, are not equivalent to each other if the word count is not the same for all separate materials studied, a method is needed to make the results comparable. Comparability is essential when one wants to compare frequencies drawn from different (sub)corpora with each other. Biber et al. (1998, 263) provide normalisation as the solution for this problem. Normalisation means that the relativeness of the results is taken into account: the difference between 50 hits in a corpus of 2,000,000 words and 50 hits in a corpus of 5,000,000 words will be clearly visible after the process is complete. To calculate the normalised, or normed, frequencies, the raw count is divided by the number of words in the data, and this number is then multiplied by the number of words one wants to standardise to. The normed frequencies per 1,000,000 words for the 50 hits above are calculated as follows:

(50/2,000,000)*1,000,000 = 25
(50/5,000,000)*1,000,000 = 10

The results show that it would have been wrong to make any conclusions of the similarity of the two materials based on the raw counts, as the normalised frequencies prove they are in fact rather different from each other.

All of the raw counts in the current study are normalised, as the sections of the CLMET and the BNC used are not of the same size, and we want the comparisons to be reliable to achieve valid results on the possible changes in the complementation of *propose*. The norm of 1,000,000 words exemplified above will be used throughout the thesis.

2.4 Introducing the corpora used

This section introduces the two corpora used as the primary sources in the latter half of the thesis. I start by presenting the historical corpus and then move on to the more recent one.

2.4.1 The Corpus of Late Modern English Texts

According to de Smet (2005, 69), the period of Late Modern English has long been neglected by researchers despite a good availability of relatively easily readable documents produced during the time. The gap has recently started to be filled, and de Smet decided to contribute to this by compiling the CLMET.

De Smet (2005, 69-70) used texts collected from the *Oxford Text Archive* and the *Project Gutenberg*. The material extends from 1710 to 1920, and is divided into three subsections of 70 years: 1710-1780 (2,096,405 words), 1780-1850 (3,739,657), and 1850-1920 (3,982,264). The selection of authors in each subsection is limited by their dates of birth to separate the subsections more clearly from each other and to avoid the occurrence of the same author in two subsections. This, however, caused some authors to be left out entirely. Figure 1, which is taken from de Smet (2005, 71), provides a more concrete illustration of the criterion.

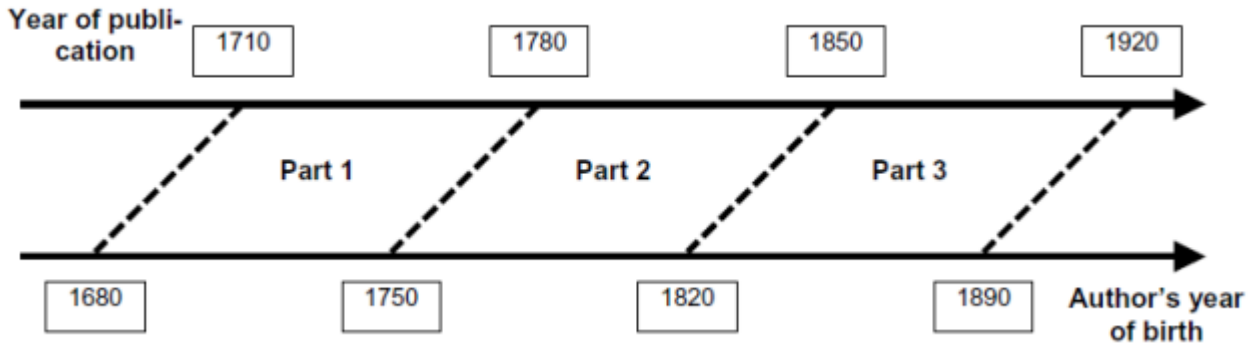

Figure 1. The selection criterion for authors for each subsection of the CLMET.

Furthermore, de Smet (2005, 71) states that "all authors are British and are native speakers of English". The reasons for this are rather self-evident: the corpus is meant for studying the language of native British English speakers, and when corresponding corpora for other varieties, for example American English, are compiled, it allows the comparison of the two. Finally, de Smet (ibid.) has

restricted the number of words per author to a maximum of 200,000.

De Smet (2005; 71-72, 78-79) goes on to state that in order to make the corpus as unbiased as possible, non-literary and lower register texts have been favoured, and an effort has been made to include female authors, but the CLMET is still not fully balanced in terms of sociolinguistic features, genres, and registers. However, this does not pose a problem for the present study, as sociolinguistic analysis is not the aim here. Another disadvantage of the corpus is that the bibliographical details for the texts are not always available, so there is no certainty as to which exact edition has been used. All the titles and authors of the works included in the corpus are known and they can be found in de Smet (2005, 72-78) along with the word counts for each text. The advantages of the CLMET, on the other hand, are its modifiability and size, a total of 9,818,326 words.

2.4.2 The British National Corpus

The BNC is a large, 100-million-word corpus of British English created by the BNC Consortium at the beginning of the 1990s. According to the BNC User Reference Guide, the original version of the corpus was first published in 1995, after which it has been slightly revised for two newer releases, but no new texts have been added to the collection.

The BNC is divided into two major parts: the written component covers 90 % and the spoken component 10 % of the texts included. The contents of these sections are further grouped into subsections according to their text type or domain. Throughout the project, details on the authors and speakers, for example their age, gender, and geographic location, were recorded. Thus, in addition to the comparison of text types, the corpus enables sociolinguistic analysis.

The BNC User Reference Guide describes the corpus as a sample corpus, which means that it consists of smaller samples of texts rather than full works. In the written part of the BNC, the target size of an extract was set at 40,000 words, and there are no samples exceeding 45,000 words. The limitation was imposed to avoid excessive idiosyncrasy and to ensure a more comprehensive

coverage of texts. In the spoken part, on the other hand, the lengths of the texts vary from under a thousand to more than 20,000 words according to the text type.

Furthermore, the earliest texts in the BNC are from 1960, which makes it a synchronic corpus focusing on a relatively short stretch of time. The nature and purpose of the BNC are thus very different from those of the CLMET, but together with either a diachronic corpus or a synchronic historical corpus, the BNC can be used as a source in diachronic research.

3 On complementation

In this chapter the study of complementation is discussed on a general level. I start by defining the concept and then move on to introducing generally accepted theoretical frameworks in the field.

3.1 What is complementation?

According to the *OED* (s.v. *complement, v.*), to complement is "[t]o make complete or perfect, to supply what is wanting". The definition of the noun (*OED*, s.v. *complement, n*.) provides a subsense for the use of the term in grammar: "One or more words joined to another to complete the sense." This is, indeed, the essence of complementation: in (3) the noun phrase (NP) *the computer* is needed for the sense of *fix* to be completed:

(3) He *fixed* the computer.

If an obligatory complement is left out, either the meaning of the sentence will change or the sentence will become more or less ungrammatical, which is why *He fixed* seems to be missing something. This is further illustrated in the section below.

3.2 Complements vs. adjuncts

Although the definition of complementation seems quite straightforward, it can sometimes be unclear what the complements of a certain headword are. These difficulties are often caused by the presence of adjuncts. Adjuncts are constructions that can follow the headword, in this case, the verb, and be superficially similar to what were above defined as complements. A distinction between these two elements needs to be made, so that adjuncts can be excluded when identifying complements in the corpus data.

One clear distinction between complements and adjuncts is their relationship with the head word. According to Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 219), complements "are more closely related to the verb than adjuncts". This means that the verb selects, or subcategorises for, its complements, whereas, as Huang (1996, 75) points out, adjuncts are not restricted to particular verbs or verb types.

He (1996, 77) goes on to state that the information provided by adjuncts is additional and always optional. Consider the following example provided by Haegeman (1991, 32):

(4) Bertie will [$_{VP}$ abandon [$_{NP}$ the race] [$_{PP}$ after the first lap]].

In (4) the NP *the race* is a complement of *abandon*, because leaving it out makes the sentence incomplete: there is something missing in *Bertie will abandon*. However, the sentence *Bertie will abandon the race* sounds perfectly complete. Thus, the prepositional phrase (PP) *after the first lap* is an adjunct not required by the verb. As Haegeman (ibid.) notes, adjuncts often express things such as time, place, or manner.

Although adjuncts are always optional, obligatoriness is not a feature that can be fully relied on when distinguishing between adjuncts and complements. Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 221) exemplify with the following sentences that complements can also be optional:

(5) She *perused* the report.
(6) She *read* the report.

In (5) the complement, *the report*, is obligatory, since *peruse* requires an object. *She read*, on the other hand, would be grammatical even without the complement describing what is being read. In cases of optional complements careful consideration of the sense of the verb and the relationship of the constituent and the headword is required. Comparison to similar verbs that do not allow intransitivity, as *peruse* here, might also be helpful. Furthermore, a useful test for separating the two constituents has been devised. The test is introduced in the following section.

3.3 Valency theory and the *do so* test

The notion of *valency* is central for distinguishing complements from adjuncts. According to the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (the *OALD*) (s.v. *valency*), valency refers to "the number of grammatical elements that a word, especially a verb, combines with in a sentence". This, however, needs to be specified further. Somers (1984, 508) talks about elements that make up the predication of a sentence together with the verbal predicate. He divides them into complements and adjuncts based on the closeness factor explained in the previous section. The distinction between the two is

that valency only binds complements: it defines how many complements a verb governs, but does not affect adjuncts, as their occurrence is less restricted and they "are excluded from the lexical information associated with the predicate". In addition to complements, the subjects of verbs are included in the notion of valency. Thus, an intransitive verb would be monovalent, a transitive verb divalent, and a ditransitive verb trivalent.

After going through several more or less problematic tests proposed by different grammarians for distinguishing between complements and adjuncts, Somers (1984, 516ff.) introduces the *do so* test, which, on the basis of the valency theory, should help us separate *optional* complements from adjuncts. According to Somers (1984, 516), the idea of the test is to replace the verb phrase with the proform *do so*. Thus, Somers (1984, 517) states, (7b) can be derived from (7a):

(7) (a) Harry went to Reading and Bev went to Reading.
(b) Harry went to Reading and Bev did so too.

If a part of the verb phrase can be placed after *do so* and the sentence remains grammatical, that element (and its corresponding element in the first part of the sentence) is an adjunct. Thus, as Somers (ibid.) points out, *last Tuesday* and *tomorrow* are adjuncts in (8):

(8) John took a trip *last Tuesday*, and I'm going to do so *tomorrow*.

On the basis of these and some additional examples, Somers (ibid.) formulates the rule as follows: "while a *do so* phrase can be the proform of anything up to the entire predication …, the minimum element that can be substituted is the predicate plus any complements". In unclear cases, the *do so* test is used to distinguish complements from adjuncts in the data analysis part of this thesis.

3.4 Argument structure and theta theory

The argument structure of a predicate is closely related to complementation. Haegeman (1991, 36) defines arguments as "the participants minimally involved in the activity or state expressed by the predicate". The quality of the verb is thus directly reflected in the number of arguments it takes: the action expressed by a ditransitive verb is naturally concerned with a higher number of participants than that expressed by an intransitive verb. However, as Haegeman (1991, 37) notes, instead of

describing the predicate in terms of its transitivity, the argument structure defines the label used: transitive verbs, for example, are called two-place predicates, as they involve two participants.

The difference between arguments and complements, then, is that whereas most grammarians do not consider the subject of a predicate to be part of its subcategorisation frame, i.e. its complement structure, subjects are included in the argument structure of a verb. This is quite self-evident if we return to Haegeman's (1991, 36) definition of an argument: subjects are, after all, participants in the activity or state that the verb expresses.

Another property of the arguments, as Huang (1996, 76) points out, is that they can be assigned thematic roles, or theta roles. Theta theory is concerned with a more abstract level of language: the semantics of sentences. It follows from this, that the arguments of a predicate can be labelled in two ways. On one hand, they can be described in terms of what Huang (1996, 78) calls grammatical relations or functions, which refer to the roles of the arguments in relation to the predicate of the sentence. These are labels such as *subject*, *object*, and *complement*. On the other hand, these same arguments can be labelled according to their semantic functions, i.e. the theta roles.

The terminology in theta theory varies extensively from one author or grammarian to another. Fillmore (1968) was one of the first ones to devise a case grammar. According to Van Valin & Wilkins (1996, 191) he felt a need for "replacing syntactically defined grammatical relations like subject and object … with semantically defined case roles, like [A]gent, which he believed were universal and probably innate". Fillmore (1968, 24-25) recognises Agentive, Instrumental, Dative, Factitive, Locative, and Objective as the most important semantic roles, although he does admit a possible need for further roles. Huang (1996, 78) mentions Agent, Theme, Experiencer, Goal, and Proposition as examples of theta roles, whereas Haegeman (1991, 41-42) provides a more comprehensive list with short definitions of each. A summary of the theta roles recognised by her is provided in the table below accompanied by a brief definition directly cited from the article.

Theta role	Definition
Agent	The one who intentionally initiates the action expressed by the predicate.
Experiencer	The entity that experiences some (psychological) state expressed by the predicate.
Patient	The person or thing undergoing the action expressed by the predicate.
Theme	The person or thing moved by the action expressed by the predicate.
Benefactive	The entity that benefits from the action expressed by the predicate.
Goal	The entity towards which the activity expressed by the predicate is directed.
Source	The entity from which something is moved as a result of the activity expressed by the predicate.
Location	The place in which the action or state expressed by the predicate is situated.

Table 1. Theta roles as listed and defined by Haegeman (1991, 41-42).

Haegeman (ibid.) provides alternative names for the roles Agent and Benefactive: Actor and Beneficiary, respectively, but those given in the table are the ones that will be used in the analysis part of this thesis. Furthermore, similarly to Haegeman (1991, 42), I will consider the roles Patient and Theme as one theta role with the label Theme.

In her article, Haegeman (1991, 46) brings up two restrictions concerning theta roles: "[e]ach argument is assigned one and only one theta role" and "[e]ach theta role is assigned to one and only one argument". These are called the theta criterion, and they are relevant to the discussion of control and movement in the following section.

3.5 Control and NP movement

To be able to analyse the data collected from the CLMET and the BNC more thoroughly, a distinction between two types of verbs, control verbs and NP movement verbs, is essential. Consider sentences (9) and (10) taken from Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 1194):

(9) Liz hoped to convince them.
(10) Liz seemed to convince them.

The predicates in these two constructions, *hope* and *seem*, differ from each other in terms of their argument structure: in (9) *Liz* is an argument of *hope*, but it is not an argument of *seem* in (10). The reason for this difference is that *hope* is a control verb, whereas *seem* is an NP movement verb.

If we turn to the theta roles and theta criterion introduced in the previous section, we notice that in (9) *Liz* has two distinct theta roles: the Experiencer of *hope* and the Agent of *convince*, as Huddleston and Pullum (ibid.) point out. However, according to the theta criterion, only one theta role can be assigned to each one argument. This problem is solved by the notion of an understood subject. We already established that *Liz* is the subject of both *hope* and *convince* in (9), so what we need to do now is derive a syntactic analysis of the sentence with the understood subject, PRO, marked in the construction. The understood subject functions as the subject argument of *convince* and the "extra" theta role, Agent, can be assigned to it without a violation of the theta criterion, as illustrated in (9'):

(9') Liz hoped [PRO to convince them.]
Exp **Agent**

Furthermore, since PRO is coreferential with the subject of *hope*, *Liz*, we can specify the nature of *hope* further by stating that it is a subject control verb as opposed to an object control verb, in which case PRO would be coreferential with the object of the matrix clause, as illustrated by the example below adapted from Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 1193):

(11) Pat persuaded Kim [PRO to travel by bus].

To return to NP movement, example (10) is examined more closely. In (10) *Liz* has only one theta role, the Agent of *convince*. As Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 1194) point out, the meaning of the sentence corresponds to that of "Seemingly, Liz convinced them." The subject NP has simply been moved from the connection of the predicate it is linked to semantically, in this case *convince*, to a higher clause in which it appears as the syntactic subject of the NP movement verb, in this case *seem*.

If we compare *propose* to these two verbs, *hope* and *seem*, on the basis of example (12) drawn from the CLMET, we notice that it behaves similarly to *hope*:

(12) …yet he *proposed* to keep a moderate surplus. (1867 Bagehott, *The English Constitution*)

In (12), *he* is coreferential with the subject of *keep*, and both of these predicates assign a theta role to their subjects, *propose* to *he* and *keep* to the understood subject, PRO, which suggests that *propose* is a subject control verb. The status of *propose* as a control predicate can be verified by applying some of the tests provided by Davies and Dubinsky (2004, 5ff.) to the verb in question. In the first test, the complement of the verb is changed into a passive form. According to Davies and Dubinsky (2004, 5) the meaning of the derived sentence being synonymous to the active sentence indicates that the verb in question is an NP movement predicate:

(12') ?A moderate surplus proposed to be kept by him.

The meaning of (12') differs from that of (12), the sentence being altogether semantically trivial, which supports my analysis.

Another simple test is using a pleonastic subject with the verb. Davies and Dubinsky (2004, 7) state that because of their semantic emptiness, the meteorological *it* as well as the existential *there* cannot function as the subjects of control predicates. Thus, (13a), taken from Davies and Dubinsky (ibid.), is grammatical but (13b) is not:

(13) (a) There seems to be a unicorn in the garden.
(b) *There proposed to be a unicorn in the garden.

These two tests are not the only ones that can be used to distinguish between NP movement and control predicates, but they are certainly enough to prove that *propose* is a control predicate.

However, there seems to be at least one construction in which *propose* occurs not as a *subject* control verb, which it did in (12) above, but rather as a type of *object* control verb, as this example from the CLMET suggests:

(14) My donkey-boys afterwards said they had overhead [*sic*.] this fellow *propose* to the Sheik to put me to death... (1844 Kinglake, *Eothen*)

It should be noted that in (14) the NP of a PP controls the subject of *put*, whereas traditionally the controlling element in object control is the *direct object* of the matrix verb, as was shown in (11). Rudanko (1989, 133ff.) discusses similar constructions and their underlying structures, looking at

evidence on the inclusion of the NP following the preposition in either the higher or the lower clause. The verbs that Rudanko (ibid.) examines in more detail are *rely on*, *depend on*, and *count on*. On the basis of five tests he (1989, 137) concludes that these particular verbs allow for both structures: the NP of the PP can be a part of either the higher or the lower clause, but remarks that there are verbs that only allow the former type of interpretation, i.e. the NP belongs to the higher clause and an understood subject, PRO, is identified in the lower clause. According to the tests, some of which are illustrated in (15)-(17), *propose* seems to be of this latter type:

(15) *What this fellow *proposed* to was for the Sheik to put me to death.
(16) Who did this fellow *propose* to to put me to death?
(17) The person who this fellow was *proposing* to to put me to death was the Sheik.

In fact, Rudanko (1989, 140-142) refers to Visser's (1973, 2241ff.) list of verbs occurring in this particular pattern, and *propose* is one of the verbs included. However, according to Rudanko's (1989, 142) comment, the use of *propose* in the *to* + NP + *to*-inf. pattern is "[v]ery marginal". As the example quoted in (14) is from the middle of the nineteenth century, the pattern might have disappeared or become extremely rare coming to the end of the twentieth century. We will be able to see the possible change in Chapter 5, as the present study is diachronic and the data covers the time when Rudanko's (1989) book was published. In lack of a better term I will call this type of control PP-object control from here on.

No information on the control status of *propose* could be found in Huddleston and Pullum (2002). In his early twentieth-century dictionary Poutsma (MS, s.v. *propose*), on the other hand, comments on the infinitival complement patterns of *propose* as follows: "...the subject of the action indicated by the infinitive may be the speaker(s), the person(s) spoken to, or the speaker and the person(s) spoken to together." The first option he gives refers to a regular subject control pattern; the second to the PP-object control pattern, *to* + NP + *to*-inf., exemplified in (14) as well as a kind of modified version of this, in which the *to* + NP element has been left out; and the third one to a kind of "combination" of subject and object control. Poutsma's (MS, s.v. *propose*) example of the final type is given in (18):

(18) He *proposed* to go into the first public-house we should find open. (Smol., *Rod. Rand*)

On the basis of Poutsma's (MS, s.v. *propose*) analysis the subject of *go* in (18) is both *he* and the addressee(s), which suggests that the sentence could be rephrased as either (18') or (18"):

(18') He *proposed* that we/they should go into the first public-house we/they should find open.
(18") He *proposed* to us/them to go into the first public-house we/they should find open.

In (18') the *to*-infinitive is replaced by a *that*-clause complement, whereas in (18") the addressee is spelled out, and, resembling (14) above, the construction can be interpreted as being an example of PP-object control.

On the basis of example (18) it seems to be possible to omit the controlling item, i.e. the PP preceding the *to*-infinitive, from the sentence. This is an interesting quality of *propose*, as Rudanko (1989, 138) notes that with verbs that occur in the PP-object control pattern "the PP is in general much less freely omissible" than with subject control constructions. The statement is closely related to Bach's generalisation (based on the works of Bach 1979, 1980), which has been formulated by Rizzi (1986, 503) as follows: "In object control structures the object NP must be structurally represented." If the generalisation is thought to include prepositional objects, *propose* violates it. Rudanko (1989, 139) exemplifies the phenomenon with *signal to*, and concludes that it needs to be studied further.

To summarise the discussion of this section, one could say that whereas *propose* is clearly a control predicate, its exact control structure is difficult define at this stage due to its complexity. Hopefully the corpus data will shed additional light on this matter as well as reveal any possible changes in the control patterns of *propose* during the past couple of centuries.

3.6 Other factors affecting complement selection

This section lists recent theoretical principles that are relevant to analysing complements and explaining complement selection.

3.6.1 The Great Complement Shift

One of the properties of language is its ever-changing nature. Language is a tool that has to adjust itself to human needs. When new situations, phenomena, and concepts arise, the language is also renewed. English, of course, is no exception: it has undergone numerous changes since its early years. Concerning the grammar of English, one major change is the Great Complement Shift. According to Rohdenburg (2006, 143) the central aspects of the shift are the changes that have occurred in the sentential complementation of verbs, namely that the gerund has established itself as a non-finite complement alongside the infinitival form.

In her article, Fanego (1996, 32-33) describes the long process of the *-ing* form becoming a possible object for subject control verbs. She states that the gerund started to acquire verbal properties in the Middle English period, after which it gradually changed from a nominal form to a verbal form. According to Rudanko (2012, 222), the *-ing* form has spread as a complement largely at the expense of the infinitive. Vosberg (2009, 213) notes that in some cases the gerund has completely replaced the infinitival complement. However, he (2009, 217) also points out that with some verbs, such as *decline*, the opposite has happened: after the *-ing* form has established itself, it has been "felt to be semantically inadequate", and has, in fact, started to decline. In Chapter 5 the Great Complement Shift will be returned to, and we will see which one of the scenarios presented by Vosberg (2009) holds true for *propose*. If propose is an example of the reversed version of the Great Complement Shift, the changes should be clearly visible in the data, as, according to Vosberg (2009; 217, 227), British English leads the way in this development, whereas American English has advanced further in the Great Complement Shift.

3.6.2 The Complexity Principle

As the goal of communication is, at least traditionally, to transmit information to either a hearer or a reader, cognitively complex environments may require more carefully constructed structures than simple environments. This means that complement selection can be affected by the complexity of a sentence. Rohdenburg (1996, 151) has formulated the Complexity Principle to explain this phenomenon:

> In the case of more or less explicit grammatical options, the more explicit one(s) will tend to be favored in cognitively more complex environments.

He (1996, 149) lists discontinuous constructions, passive constructions, long subjects and objects, and subordinate clauses as factors increasing complexity. Phenomena that are subject to variation on the basis of complexity are, according to Rohdenburdg (ibid.), finite and non-finite complement clauses, marked and unmarked infinitives, and optional prepositions, for example. He (1996, 151) gives *help* as an example:

(19) (a) I helped him to write the paper.
(b) I helped him write the paper.

In the more explicit version, (19a), the infinitive marker *to* is spelled out, whereas in the less explicit construction it is left out. Out of these two, (19a) would, according to the Complexity Principle, be chosen for more complex environments.

One reason for a construction becoming discontinuous are insertions. Vosberg (2003a, 210) defines insertions as "material inserted between the superordinate and the dependent clause". Rohdenburg (1995, 368) provides another principle concerning this matter:

> The less directly the dependent clause is linked to its superordinate clause, or the more complex the dependent clause turns out to be, the greater is the need to make its sentential status more explicit.

Vosberg (2003a, 210-11) goes on to state that when insertions are present, the *that*-complementiser is more likely to be retained than omitted. Similarly, the sententiality of the complement is often made more explicit in these cases: sentential variants other than the *-ing* clause tend to be favoured.

3.6.3 Extractions

Extractions are related to the Complexity Principle in that they, similarly to insertions, cause constructions to become discontinuous and thus create more complex environments. An extraction is something that has been taken from the dependent clause and moved to the left, usually to the higher clause. In his work, Postal (1994, 162) recognises nine types of extraction, which he further divides into two groups. The division has been disregarded here, as it is not relevant to the complement analysis presented in this thesis. Postal's (ibid.) extraction types are listed in the table below, along with examples borrowed from his work (1994, 159).

Extraction type	Example
1. Question extraction	Who$_1$ did they nominate t_1 to be director?
2. Restrictive relative extraction	The gun (which)$_2$ they claimed t_2 was used in the crime
3. Pseudo clefting	What$_3$ Ellen wants t_3 is a Mercedes-Benz.
4. Negative NP extraction	[No such gorilla]$_4$ did I ever see t_4.
5. Comparative extraction	Stella tickled more chimps than (what)$_5$ I said that Dwight tickled t_5.
6. Exclamatory extraction	[What a lovely woman]$_6$ I found out that he married t_6!
7. Non-restrictive relative extraction	Frank$_7$, who$_7$ they adored t_7, is dishonest.
8. Topicalisation	Frank$_8$, I would never hire t_8.
9. Clefting	It was Frank who$_9$ they hired t_9.

Table 2. Postal's (1994, 162) nine extraction types. The subscripted material on the left represents what has been extracted, whereas *t* symbols the *trace*, or gap, left from the extraction.

For the sake of convenience, Huddleston and Pullum's (2002, 1420) treatment of pseudo clefts is followed in the analysis of the corpus data in Chapter 5, and both pseudo clefting and clefting are considered to be examples of pseudo clefting: the structure exemplified as extraction type 3 in the table is a "basic pseudo-cleft", whereas the one exemplified as type 9 is a "reversed pseudo-cleft".

Vosberg (2003b, 307) bases his discussion on extractions on Postal's (1994) theory: he recognises relative extraction, comparative extraction, topicalisation, and interrogation as the major types. Based on his analysis, Vosberg (2003b, 308) has devised the Extraction Principle:

> In the case of infinitival or gerundial complement options, the infinitive will tend to be favoured in environments where a complement of the subordinate clause is extracted (by topicalization, relativization, comparativization, or interrogation etc.) from its original position and crosses clause boundaries.

Thus, as Vosberg (ibid.) states, the spread of *-ing* complements has been slowed down in environments containing extractions. As *propose* can take both *to*-infinitive and *-ing* clause complements, the principle is taken into account in the analysis of the corpus data. Extractions are, however, of interest with other kinds of complements as well and will be commented on where relevant.

3.6.4 The *horror aequi* principle

The *horror aequi* principle is a concept that can play an important role when trying to justify the selection of one complement pattern over others by the head word. According to Rohdenburg (2003, 236), the main idea of the *horror aequi* principle is that there is a "widespread (and presumably universal) tendency to avoid the use of formally (near-)identical and (near-)adjacent (non-coordinate) grammatical elements or structures". Thus, other grammatical structures forming the context for the head word can have an effect on the complement it selects. This then means that an unlikely, less common complement can be selected for use over a more obvious choice in order to avoid situating similar structures close to each other. Rohdenburg (ibid.) gives *-ing* clauses and *to*-infinitives as examples of structures that have generally been thought to be sensitive to *horror aequi*. Vosberg (2009, 217) notes that in the case of the reversed Great Complement Shift the *-ing* form is likely to be retained when the verb complemented is marked as an infinitive, i.e. when the use of the *to*-infinitive would result in a violation of the *horror aequi* principle.

Similarly to extractions discussed above, possible violations of the principle in the authentic corpus data will be commented on when analysing the findings in the latter half of the thesis. Structures similar to the following example from the *OED* (s.v. *propose*) are the ones we expect to find when the *horror aequi* principle is followed:

(20) The Government is..*proposing* <u>to establish</u> jury-free trials for terror suspects. (2005 *Independent*)

4 *Propose* in dictionaries and grammars

This section examines how *propose* is represented in dictionaries and grammars. I start by briefly introducing the etymology of *propose*, and then move on to the semantic characteristics of the verb. The *OED* is the main source for this latter section, but Poutsma's (MS) *Dictionary of Constructions* from the beginning of the twentieth century along with two learner's dictionaries, the *OALD* and the *Collins COBUILD Advanced Learner's Dictionary of British English* (*Cobuild*), are also consulted. It will be interesting to see, whether the description in Poutsma (MS) differs from those in the more modern dictionaries, and whether these differences reflect the changes that can possibly be discovered in the authentic data in the following chapter. Finally, the syntactic features of *propose*, both in the dictionaries and in three influential grammars, are discussed.

4.1 Etymology

Etymology is an interesting although often complicated and indefinite field of study, as changes are sometimes impossible to pin down with complete certainty. However, some knowledge of the origin of the word studied can be particularly helpful when analysing the older examples given in the *OED*, since the spelling of a word can sometimes change quite drastically.

The history of *propose* seems to be relatively straightforward. According to the *Chambers Dictionary of Etymology* (s.v. *propose*) (hereafter *CDE*), *propose* derives from the Old French word *proposer*, which is based on the Latin *prōpōnere*. The *CDE* (s.v. *propose*) gives *proposen* from 1340 as the first recorded form of the word in English, and the meaning as "to put forward a scheme, form an intention". The *OED* (s.v. *propose*) additionally lists later forms of the word: *prepose* in Late Modern English, up to the sixteenth century, and *propois* and *propoys* in pre-seventeenth-century English.

4.2 Semantic characteristics

Propose is a verb with multiple meanings, some of which are more closely related: the *OED* (s.v. *propose*) lists just five senses, but if all the sub-senses are included in the count, the total number of meanings for *propose* is fifteen. A summary of the *OED* entry is presented in Table 3 below. The senses are given in the left-hand column, examples from the *OED* can be found in the middle, and the complements occurring in the examples on the right-hand side of the table.

OED entry	Example(s)	Complement(s)
1. a. *intr*. To propose a course of action; to make proposals. b. *trans*. To set before oneself as something to be done; to intend, purpose, or design. c. *trans*. To put forward or suggest as a scheme, plan, or course of action; to recommend or advocate *that* something be done.	1. The President *proposes*, the Congress disposes. (1980 *Times*) 2. If M. de Meusnier *proposes* to mention the facts of cruelty of which he and Mr. Jefferson spoke yesterday. (1786 T. Jefferson) 3. He *proposes* that they shall reassemble on the following day. (1875 B. Jowett)	Ø *to*-infinitive *that*-clause
2. *trans*. a. To put forward or present for consideration, discussion, etc.; to set forth, propound, state (an argument, question, etc.). b. To put forth or present to view or perception; to exhibit, display. Also *fig*. Now *rare*. c. To put forward as something to be attained; to state or have as an aim, end, or object. d. To represent to one's imagination; to envisage, hold in mind; *esp*. to anticipate as an outcome, to expect, look for. *Obs*. e. *Music*. To announce (a subject) for imitation or contrapuntal treatment. *Obs*.	1. I would *propose* a question to county officials: What cost would you put on a life? (1984 *Frederick*) 2. *Propose* to mine eyes the evilnesse of my dayes. (a1644 F. Quarles) 3. We must *propose* an End worthy of God. (1702 *Rous's Academia Cælestis*) 4. The utmost Success I ever *propos'd* from this Play. (1708 C. Cibber) 5. An answer in music is, in strict counterpoint, the repetition by one part or instrument of a theme *proposed* by another. (1879 G. Grove)	NP + *to* + NP *to* + NP + NP NP NP NP
4. a. *trans*. To put forward or offer for acceptance, assent, or approval. c. *trans*. To nominate (a person) for an office or position, esp. as a member of a society.	1. Acknowledging that such a program would be 'administratively burdensome'..he *proposes* an alternative. (2005 *N.Y. Rev. Bks.*) 2. Attorney Thomas Wagstaff..*proposed* him for chairman of the county committee. (1966 D. R. McCoy)	NP NP + *for* + NP

d. *trans*. To invite those present at a meal, etc., to drink (a toast); to offer for acceptance as the subject of a toast. e. *intr*. To make an offer of marriage (*to* someone).	3. The best man *proposed* the health of bride and husband. (1979 C. P. Snow) 4. Mr Flawse..took a swig of brandy to steady his nerves. The bloody woman was *proposing* to him. (1978 T. Sharpe)	NP *to* + NP

Table 3. A summary of the senses of the verb *propose* in the *OED*.

In the original *OED* entry for *propose*, sense 1 is divided into three sub-senses. As can be seen in example 1, *propose* is especially contrasted with the verb *dispose* in sense 1a. The sub-sense 1b is more or less synonymous with *intend*, whereas 1c seems to be the transitive correspondent of 1a. Senses 2d and e are marked as obsolete, but have been included in the table, as according to the *OED* (s.v. *propose*) both of them have been used in time periods reaching up to the decades covered by the CLMET data analysed in this thesis. Senses 3, 4b and 5, on the other hand, have been excluded, as the only examples of those are from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Thus, they can be assumed to be irrelevant to the present study.

Moving on to the learner's dictionaries, the supposition that *propose* is diverse in its meaning is confirmed. The *OALD* (s.v. *propose*) lists five senses and one additional idiomatic sense for *propose*. Table 4 summarises the definitions as well as gives the short cut word or phrase[1] offered for each sense in the *OALD*.

Definition	Short cut
1. To suggest a plan, an idea, etc. for people to think about and decide on.	Suggest plan
2. To intend to do sth.	Intend
3. To ask sb to marry you.	Marriage
4. To suggest sth at a formal meeting and ask people to vote on it.	At formal meeting
5. To suggest an explanation of sth for people to consider.	Suggest explanation

Table 4. A summary of the senses of *propose* in the *OALD*.

Table 4 helps us perceive the nuances of the meanings of *propose* on a more practical, context-bound level. Although the *OED* does provide some synonyms for *propose* in specific contexts, the short cuts given in the *OALD* can be even more useful when analysing the authentic corpus data and

1 In the *OALD*, short cut words or phrases are provided to give the reader a general idea of the meaning of the word or the context in which it can be used.

assigning meanings to the hits, as they have been simplified to match the needs of an advanced learner. In order for us to arrive at an ideal division of the senses of *propose*, some comparison of the two tables is in place here.

Senses 1a and 1c of the *OED* (s.v. *propose*) correspond well with sense 1 of the *OALD* (s.v. *propose*). The main idea of this sense is that something should be done or considered. Sense 2 of Table 4, "to intend to do sth", seems to be similar to senses 1b and 2c of Table 3. 2d is somewhat problematic with its more unique meaning, whereas the other sub-senses of this definition could be grouped under sense 5 of the *OALD*, with the exception of 2e, which is not listed in the *OALD* at all. This is probably due to its specificity and rareness: the only two examples in the *OED* are from the 1800s. The idea of marriage is clear in the definitions of both dictionaries: 4e in Table 3 and 3 in Table 4. The sub-senses 4a and 4c of the *OED* correspond with sense 4 of the *OALD*. Now, in addition to the obsolete senses 2d and 2e not present in the *OALD*, the only sense left without a match is 4d in Table 3. However, the explanation is simple: the *OALD* considers "propose a toast (to sb)" and "propose sb's health" to be idiomatic expressions.

In addition to the *OALD*, another learner's dictionary, the *Collins COBUILD Advanced Learner's Dictionary of British English* (*Cobuild*) was consulted on the senses of *propose*. The *Cobuild* (s.v. *propose*) entry is quite similar to the one found in the *OALD* (s.v. *propose*). The dictionary provides a total of six senses for the verb, and these are listed in the table below.

1. If you propose something such as a plan or an idea, you suggest it for people to think about and decide upon.
2. If you propose to do something, you intend to do it.
3. If you propose a theory or an explanation, you state that it is possibly or probably true, because it fits in with the evidence that you have considered.
4. If you propose a motion for debate, or a candidate for election, you begin the debate or the election procedure by formally stating your support for that motion or candidate.
5. If you propose a toast to someone or something, you ask people to drink a toast to them.
6. If you propose to someone, or propose marriage to them, you ask them to marry you.

Table 5. A summary of the senses of *propose* in *Cobuild*.

The senses in Table 5 correspond more or less directly to those of Table 4 above. Senses 1 and 2 are almost exactly the same, the marriage sense can be found in both dictionaries, and sense 3 in

Cobuild shares the idea of sense 5 in the *OALD*. Sense 4 is similar in both learner's dictionaries, but the definition in *Cobuild* seems to be somewhat more specific. Finally, *Cobuild*, similarly to the *OED* and unlike the *OALD*, regards proposing a toast as one sense of the verb rather than as an idiomatic expression.

The fourth and final dictionary to be consulted in this section is Poutsma's (MS) *Dictionary of Constructions*. In addition to being notably older and less up-to-date than the three other dictionaries discussed above, not having been published and thus updated since its compilation, the dictionary is unique in that the focus is on the syntax of the words rather than the semantics, as the title suggests.

In his conclusion for the entry of *propose*, Poutsma (MS, s.v. *propose*) recognises three meanings for the verb, one of which is used infrequently and only found in one example. The two common ones are "to offer for consideration" and "to purpose". Poutsma (ibid.) does not seem to make a very fine-grained distinction between the different shades of meaning that *propose* has. A quick look at his examples shows that all of the meanings provided in the *OALD* and *Cobuild* can be found in the entry: "to purpose" corresponds to the idea of intending in the other dictionaries, and everything else is grouped under the general definition "to offer for consideration". The third, infrequent sense is that of "to anticipate". This definition is also listed in the *OED* under 2d, but it is marked as obsolete, which suggests that the sense has been declining in frequency and was already rare at the time Poutsma's (MS) dictionary was compiled.

On the basis of the four dictionaries discussed in this section, six senses that will be used in the data analysis were derived. These can be found in Table 6 below.

1. To suggest a plan or an idea.
2. To intend to do something; to set, state, or have as an aim, end, or object; to anticipate.
3. To put something (a question, an explanation, etc.) forward for consideration or discussion.
4. To make an offer of marriage.
5. To suggest something for acceptance or voting at a formal gathering or similar circumstances.
6. To suggest (a subject of) a toast.

Table 6. The senses of *propose* for the analysis of corpus data derived on the basis of the *OED*, the *OALD*, Poutsma (MS), and *Cobuild*.

Sense 1 is a simplified combination of senses 1a and 1c in the *OED*, following the wording of sense 1 in the two learner's dictionaries. Some additions, on the other hand, have been made to sense 2 of the *OALD* and *Cobuild*: sense 2c of the *OED* seems to be a non-sentential counterpart of "to intend", whereas "to anticipate" was marked as obsolete, and thus does not necessarily require its own sense. The occurrences of "to anticipate" will be commented on in the data analysis to get a view on the frequency of the (sub)sense. Furthermore, the music sense of the *OED* (2e) has been left out due to its highly specific meaning and assumed rareness.

Sense 3 was formulated to be more general than the corresponding definition in *Cobuild* on the basis of the *OED* and the *OALD*, whereas sense 5 is a kind of compromise between the *OED* and *Cobuild*, arriving at a similar wording as was used in the *OALD*. Although the general idea of senses 3 and 5 is similar to that of sense 1, they are here considered as separate meanings of *propose* on the basis of three of the four dictionaries consulted following this practice. What separates the senses from each other, then, is the context in which they occur: in sense 3 the thing proposed is something more abstract (a theory, a question, etc.), whereas *an idea* in sense 1 is more concrete and closely related to the idea that something needs to be done. Sense 5, on the other hand, has a specific, formal context, where the thing proposed needs to be voted on or accepted by someone higher up in the hierarchy.

Finally, Sense 4 was thought to deserve a sense of its own, as its context is arguably unique. Sense 6 was included in the table on the basis of the *OED* and *Cobuild*, although the *OALD* considered it to be idiomatic.

4.3 Syntactic characteristics in dictionaries

In this section the discussion of the dictionaries is continued from the viewpoint of syntax. The authentic occurrences provided in the *OED* and Poutsma (MS), as well as the examples and typical patterns given in the learner's dictionaries, are analysed for the complementation of *propose* to form an initial idea of the patterns the verb can occur with. The different complement patterns found in each dictionary are sorted out in Table 7.

OED	*OALD*	*Cobuild*	Poutsma
NP NP + NP *to* + NP *to* + NP + NP NP + *to* + NP *for* + NP NP + *for* + NP *for* + NP + *in* + NP NP + *as* + NP NP + *unto* + NP NP + *to*-inf. *to* + NP + *to*-inf. *that*-clause *to*-inf. *-ing* clause adverb ∅	NP *to* + NP NP + *to* + NP NP + *for* + NP NP + *as* + NP *that*-clause *to*-inf. *-ing* clause ∅	NP *to* + NP NP + *to* + NP *that*-clause *to*-inf. *-ing* clause	NP *to* + NP *to* + NP + NP *for* + NP NP + *for* + NP NP + *to*-inf. *to* + NP + *to*-inf. *that*-clause *to*-inf. *-ing* clause poss. + *-ing* clause ∅

Table 7. Complement patterns of *propose* found in the examples provided in the entries in each dictionary.

The table above shows that the *OED*, with 17 patterns, exemplifies the complements of *propose* most comprehensively. There are all in all five patterns which occur in all of the dictionaries: NP, *to*-infinitive, *-ing* clause, *that*-clause, and *to* + NP. In addition, three patterns are found in three of the works: the zero complement[2] and NP + *for* + NP in the *OED*, the *OALD*, and Poutsma (MS), and NP + *to* + NP in the *OED*, the *OALD*, and *Cobuild*. One pattern, NP + *as* + NP, is exemplified in both the *OED* and the *OALD*, whereas four patterns, NP + *to*-inf., *to* + NP + *to*-inf., *to* + NP + NP, and *for* + NP, only occur in the *OED* and Poutsma (MS). The first of these, is "an unusual one"

[2] The term *zero complement* is somewhat controversial, as it indicates the *absence* of a complement rather than the occurrence of one, and is not a complement type per se. However, for the sake of convenience, it is included in the group of non-sentential complements in the present study.

according to Poutsma (MS, s.v. *propose*). Indeed, there is only one example of the pattern in both dictionaries:

(21) Þei..may *propose* hem to gete or noye þe townes. (1441 H. Nicolas)
(22) The monopoly plan . . is *proposed* to be applied to sago and sugar. (*Daily Mail*)

In the latter, i.e. Poutsma's (ibid.), example both of the predicates are in the passive: if the sentence is rephrased so that only *propose* is changed into the active form, Poutsma's (ibid.) analysis of an NP + *to*-infinitive complement is correct:

(22') They *proposed* the monopoly plan to be applied to sago and sugar.

If both of the predicates, however, are changed into their active correspondents, it seems that the NP *the monopoly plan* is in fact an object of *apply* and not *propose*:

(22") They *proposed* to apply the monopoly plan to sago and sugar.

In (22") the meaning of the sentence changes slightly, as it can now be interpreted as subject control and *they* are the ones doing the applying, unless the addressee(s) the proposition is made to are also included in the action expressed by the *to*-infinitive, in which case the sentence would be an example of the "combination" control type discussed briefly in Section 3.5 above. As was already pointed out, this is said to be a rare construction, and we need not concern ourselves with it at this stage, as similar sentences do not necessarily occur in the corpus data.

To return to the patterns provided in Table 7, both the *OED* and Poutsma (MS, s.v. *propose*) list complements that are not present in the three other works. Four such patterns are exemplified in the *OED*:

(23) The Kyng *proposyth* northward hastyly after the Parlament. (adverb; c1613 T. Stapleton)
(24) I then would..never have presumed to have *preposed* you your flight. (NP + NP; 1635 J. Hayward)
(25) (a) God..hath *proposed* the world unto our knowledge. (NP + *unto* + NP; 1646 Sir T. Browne)
(b) I *propose* them vnto you. (NP + *unto* + NP; 1592 A. Day)
(26) She had been amazed when the handsome young Pomfret Herries had *proposed* for her in marriage. (*for* + NP + *in* + NP; 1931 H. S. Walpole)

The pattern in (25) occurs twice, and the rest only once in the whole entry. As can be noticed, the examples are very old with the exception of (26), which is from the 1930s. It can be assumed that

most of these four patterns do not occur in the corpus data at all or only infrequently.

In Poutsma (MS, s.v. *propose*), on the other hand, there is only one pattern which is unique to the dictionary:

(27) You *proposed* our confessing our faults. (poss. + *-ing*; Hardy, *Tess*)

In (27) *propose* is complemented by an *-ing* clause, which is preceded by a possessive pronoun.

4.4 Syntactic characteristics in grammars

I consulted three recent grammars to see whether any remarks on *propose* can be found in the current literature. The aim of this was to find out what the general view on the syntax of the verb is. Some information on *propose* could be found in all of the works: *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (1985) by Quirk et al., *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English* (1999) by Biber et al., and *Cambridge Grammar of the English Language* (2002) by Huddleston and Pullum.

The most comprehensive representation of the grammar of *propose* can be found in Quirk et al. (1985). According to them (1985, 1182) *propose* is a suasive verb, which means that it can be followed by a *that*-clause including either a putative *should*, a mandative subjunctive, or an indicative verb. They (ibid.) give (28), where *demand* can be replaced by *propose*, as an example of this kind of a construction:

(28) People are *demanding* that she *should leave*/*leave*/*leaves* <esp BrE> the company.

Furthermore, Quirk et al. (1985, 1213-1214) note that when *propose* introduces directives indirectly with a *that*-clause complement, it can take an optional *to* + NP complement before the *that*-clause. Again, this is exemplified with a verb that shares these properties with *propose*:

(29) Dr Day *recommended* (to her) that the treatment be continued.

Both of these *that*-clause complement types, with or without an optional *to* + NP complement, are also recognised by Biber et al. (1999, 664) and Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 959). Huddleston and Pullum (ibid.) further define the role of the NP in the optional *to* + NP complement: it is "the

recipient of some act of communication".

In addition to *that*-clauses, Quirk et al. (1985, 1181) list *to*-infinitives and NP + *to*-infinitive constructions as possible complementation patterns for *propose*. They (1985, 1187) clarify this further by stating that *propose* can be followed by a subjectless infinitive clause, in which case "the 'understood' subject of the infinitive clause is always" coreferential with the subject of the matrix clause. This means that *propose* is recognised to be a subject control verb, as explained above in Section 3.5, but does not take into account the PP-object control and the possible omission of the PP, which results in the (speaker/)hearer type of control. This, however, is in accordance with Rudanko (1989, 142) calling the construction "[v]ery marginal". If the marginality of the PP-object and (speaker/)hearer control is the reason for their exclusion, the inclusion of the latter pattern, NP + *to*-infinitive is somewhat curious, since both the *OED* and Poutsma (MS, s.v. *propose*) show it to be a rare complement of *propose*, as established in the previous section.

Like many other verbs occurring with *to*-infinitive complements, *propose* also allows what Quirk et al. (1985, 1189) consider to be subjectless *-ing* clause complements. According to them (ibid.), the understood subject is also coreferential with the subject of the matrix verb in this construction. Biber et al. (1999, 742) add to this that the *-ing* clause is not always subjectless, as examples of the type *propose* + NP + *-ing* clause were found in the LSWE Corpus. By this construction they probably mean the type of complementation labelled as poss. + *-ing* in the previous section.

Similarly to Quirk et al., Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 1228) list *propose* as a verb taking both *to*-infinitive and *-ing* clause complements:

(30) I *propose* <u>to tell/telling</u> her.

They (2002, 1241) are of the opinion that there is "no discernible difference" in meaning between these two sentential complements.

Furthermore, Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 1228) indicate that *propose* can be passivised. One possible passive construction is exemplified with the verb *intend*, which, according to Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 1226), functions in the same way in this context:

(31) It was *intended* (for it) to resume.

In fact, Quirk et al. (1985, 1214) also state that *propose* allows passivisation, but they give *that*-clause complement constructions as an example. In these cases the *that*-clause becomes the subject of the sentence. As this means that the subject would then be quite long, the passive construction, they (ibid.) claim, "is more acceptable with extraposition":

(32) It has been *shown* to us all that Miss Jones was innocent.

In (32), it is again possible to replace *shown* with *proposed*.

4.5 Sense and structure

Now that the semantics and syntax of *propose* in existing works have been discussed separately, an attempt is made at finding a connection between the two. Each of the senses derived for the analysis on the basis of the dictionaries (see Table 6 above) is studied in detail to see whether the senses have a tendency to occur with a specific complementation pattern. To do this, I examine the example sentences and typical patterns given in the dictionaries under the corresponding definitions with the exception of Poutsma (MS, s.v. *propose*): since he only divides the meaning of *propose* into three senses, two major and one minor, and does not explicitly connect these with the sentences, I analysed the examples provided by him and attached one of the six derived senses to each sentence. Concerning the *OED*, examples dated before 1700 were ignored, and are thus not included in the discussion. A summary of the findings is given in Table 8.

	1. To suggest a plan or an idea	2. To intend to do something, to set, state or have as an aim, end, or object, to anticipate.	3. To put something (a question, an explanation, etc.) forward for consideration or discussion.	4. To make an offer of marriage.	5. To suggest something for acceptance or voting at a meeting.	6. To suggest (a subject of) a toast.	Total
NP	12	7	9	2	13	10	53
to + NP				9			9
to + NP + NP	2			1			3
NP + *to* + NP		4	3	2	1	2	12
for + NP				3			3
NP + *for* + NP	1		1		6		8
for + NP + *in* + NP				1			1
NP + *as* + NP					1		1
NP + *to*-inf.					1		1
to + NP + *to*-inf.	2						2
that-clause	10		1		1		12
to-infinitive	5	12			1		18
-ing clause	5	10					15
poss. + *-ing*	3						3
∅	7			6			13
Total	47	33	14	24	24	12	154

Table 8. A summary of the complement patterns and senses of *propose* in the dictionaries from 1700 onwards.

The *OED* has most influence in the results, as it presents multiple examples for each sense, adding up to a total of 76 illustrations of the relevant senses from 1700 onwards. Poutsma (MS, s.v. *propose*) provides 47 examples, the *OALD* 16 examples, and finally *Cobuild*, which only gives one example for each pattern and additionally lists other alternative patterns counted here as separate examples, provides a total of 15 instances, leaving us with 154 examples altogether.

The first sense seems to be relatively evenly spread between non-sentential and sentential complementation patterns, with 22 and 25 examples, respectively. In addition to the marriage sense (4), it is the only one to occur intransitively, i.e. with the zero complement. Sense 1 clearly

dominates the *that*-clause complements with 10 out of 12 examples. The verb *should* occurs in 6 of the 10 *that*-clauses and *shall* in 1. These two auxiliaries seem to be closely related to the *that*-clause complements of sense 1, and special attention should be paid to them in the data analysis in the following chapter. Furthermore, sense 1 is the only one of the six senses to be found with a *to* + NP + *to*-inf. complement and a poss. + -*ing* cl. complement. The former one is exemplified in both the *OED* and Poutsma (MS, s.v. *propose*), whereas the latter can only be found in Poutsma.

Sense 2 also takes both non-sentential and sentential complements. In addition to sense 1, it is the only one found with -*ing* clauses. Sense 2 is clearly the most common one to occur with *to*-infinitives with 12 out of 18 examples. The rest of the senses have a strong preference for non-sentential patterns. In 64 % of the examples, sense 3 occurs with an NP, the rest being spread among more complex NP complements with the exception of an odd sentential case. Sense 5 behaves in a similar way with only three examples of sentential complements.

Senses 4 and 6 do not take any sentential complements in the four dictionaries. Sense 4 can be found with seven different kind of NP complement patterns as well as the zero complement, whereas sense 6 is used with either just an NP or an NP + *to* + NP pattern.

If Table 8 is compared to Table 7 in Section 4.3, in which the syntactic characteristics of dictionaries are discussed, we notice that three patterns do not occur in this section due to the exclusions of examples dated before 1700: NP + NP, NP + *unto* + NP, and adverb. Based on this, these three patterns are unlikely to occur in the corpora studied in Chapter 5. The discoveries summarised in Table 8 are used to compare the dictionary entries to authentic data.

5 Corpus analysis

This chapter is dedicated to the analysis of authentic corpus data. I first provide a brief introduction to the methodology used in this study and then move on to the actual analysis, proceeding chronologically from the earliest data to the more recent source.

5.1 Methodology

As has been stated before, the historical data for this study comes from the CLMET. However, only the second and third parts of the corpus are included in the analysis, as they provide a sufficient number of tokens for the purpose of this thesis. The first part is set aside for now.

At the time when the data for this study was collected, the CLMET was still untagged. To achieve the best possible results from the point of view of precision and recall, the two parts of the corpus were searched with all four forms of the verb *propose*, i.e. *propose*, *proposes*, *proposed*, and *proposing*, using a simple corpus tool. Although a tagged version of the corpus is now available, it has not been systematically checked for errors, which means that the method used here would still be the one to yield the most accurate results in terms of recall, and collecting the data again using tags is unnecessary.

After retrieving the data, I went through the tokens manually, identifying the complements of *propose* in each sentence. The precision of the search strings was quite high: *proposed* was the only form to yield irrelevant hits. All of the irrelevant occurrences were examples of attributive use, in which the form *proposed* can be considered to be adjectival:

(1) Wuthering Heights was the goal of my *proposed* excursion. (1847 Brontë, *Wuthering Heights*)

The total number of irrelevant tokens was 12 in the CLMET 2 and 14 in the CLMET 3. In the CLMET 2 the total number of hits for the four forms of *propose* was 310, which means that 3.9 % of the tokens retrieved were irrelevant. The figures are 391 and 3.6 % for the CLMET 3, respectively. These cases will now be set aside, and the numbers of tokens analysed in the following sections are 298 for the CLMET 2 and 377 for the CLMET 3.

Because of the size of the BNC, only one part of the corpus was used for collecting the more recent data. To achieve reliable results, the texts would have to be stylistically similar to those in the CLMET, which is why the written domain of imaginative prose was chosen. The subcorpus consists of 16,496,408 words, which is more than four times the number of words in either part of the CLMET. This makes the calculation of normalised frequencies essential if one wishes to compare the different time periods with each other.

The data was retrieved using the search string "{propose/V}" in the BNC*web*. This command conducts a lemma search, i.e. it looks for all forms of *propose* tagged as a verb in the corpus. As tagging rarely achieves perfect accuracy, the recall might not be as high with a lemma search as with the method used in the CLMET. Using each verb form as a search string would not have been a problem with *propose*, *proposes*, or *proposing*, but taking into account the size of the subcorpus, the number of adjectival tokens of *proposed* that would have had to be manually discarded would have been relatively high. Fortunately, the accuracy of tagging seems to be high in the BNC, ensuring almost perfect precision and hinting at great recall, as just one adjectival example of *proposed* was found in the data collected:

(2) AD9 813 It was a programme about the (then) *proposed* orbital cities, and even boasted an interview with a very youthful Ewan Famber…

The confusion of the tagger is not a surprise here, as in addition to following *then*, a machine could easily mistake *proposed* to be coordinated with *boasted* because of the awkward structure of the coordinate clause. After the exclusion of the irrelevant token, the total number of hits to analyse is 368.

5.2 *Propose* in the CLMET 2

The 298 relevant tokens that the searches returned in the CLMET 2 are divided between the verb forms as follows: 85 tokens of *propose*, 25 of *proposes*, 168 of *proposed*, and 20 of *proposing*. 17 different complement types, including the zero complement, were identified in the data. The table below provides the complement patterns along with the numbers of tokens, the percentages, and the

normalised frequencies for each complement. The total word count of the CLMET 2 was rounded to the closest 100,000, i.e. 3,700,000 words, for the calculation of the normed frequencies.

Complement	*Propose*	*Proposes*	*Proposed*	*Proposing*	Total	%	NF/million
NP	23	7	40	5	75	25.2	20.27
NP + NP	3				3	1.0	0.81
to + NP	3		2	2	7	2.3	1.89
to + NP + NP	2				2	0.7	0.54
NP + *to* + NP	3		8		11	3.7	2.97
for + NP	2		1		3	1.0	0.81
NP + *for* + NP		1	3		4	1.3	1.1
NP + *as* + NP			3		3	1.0	0.81
NP + *to*-inf.			2		2	0.7	0.54
to + NP + *to*-inf.	2		5		7	2.3	1.89
to + NP + *that*-cl.			6	1	7	2.3	1.89
that-clause	10	7	32	4	53	17.8	14.32
to-infinitive	21	7	41	6	75	25.2	20.27
-*ing* clause	7	1	15		23	7.7	6.22
poss. + -*ing*	2		1		3	1.0	0.81
quote		1	2		3	1.0	0.81
∅	7	1	7	2	17	5.7	4.59
Total	85	25	168	20	298	~100	80.54

Table 9. *Propose* in the CLMET 2. Number of tokens by verb form, percentage, and normalised frequency for each complement pattern.

I first discuss the non-sentential complements, including the zero complement, in detail and then move on to the sentential patterns.

5.2.1 Non-sentential complements in the CLMET 2

The discussion of the non-sentential complement patterns in the CLMET 2 opens with a look at the simple NP complements, after which the more complex nominal patterns are considered in 5.2.1.2 and 5.2.1.3. The section closes with a look at the zero complement.

5.2.1.1 NP

As Table 9 shows, the most common complement of *propose* seems to be, together with the *to*-infinitive, the NP, which accounts for roughly one fourth of all the tokens:

(3) (a) I *proposed* separate apartments; but it would not do. (1848 Brontë, *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall*)
(b) But I am content that my constancy should be put to the test you *propose*. (1843 Ainsworth, *Windsor Castle*)

Most of the NP complements could be identified in a straightforward manner, but there were a couple of problematic cases due to difficulties in distinguishing between complements and adjuncts. Consider the following tokens:

(4) ...Mrs. Chick had *proposed* the Major for Mr Dombey's companion... (1848 Dickens, *Dombey and Son*)
(5) ...the plan they had *proposed* for the detection of the impostures of the Egyptian upon the youthful weakness of the proselyte. (1834 Bulwer-Lytton, *The Last Days of Pompeii*)
(6) Romeo had not been gone many days before the old Lord Capulet *proposed* a match for Juliet. (1807 Lamb, *Tales from Shakespeare*)

The three examples are similar in that a *for*-phrase follows the verb in all of them. However, upon closer inspection they prove to be very different. As the underlining suggests, the *for*-phrase in (4) has been analysed as a complement of *propose*. This is because it closely resembles an example under sense 4 of the *OED*:

(7) Attorney Thomas Wagstaff..*proposed* him for chairman of the county committee (1966 D. R. McCoy).

In (5), on the other hand, the context is very different, as is the content of the *for*-phrase. The *do so* test suggests that only the extracted NP is a complement of *propose* in this sentence:[3]

(5') John *proposed* a plan for the detection of the impostures and Mary did so for the reduction of poverty.

Finally, in (6) the *for*-phrase at first glance seems to be very closely related to the NP *a match*, and could be interpreted as part of the larger NP, but when we look at the sentence in its original context, it seems to interact with the verb itself:

[3] Two native informants confirmed that sentence (5') seems grammatical in the context of example (5): the *for*-phrase can be rephrased as *in order to detect the impostures…*, which clearly shows that it is not a complement. However, the sentence is ambiguous, and the *for*-phrase could also be interpreted to be part of the NP *a plan*, but this is discouraged by the placement of the relative clause in (5).

(6') Romeo had not been gone many days before the old Lord Capulet *proposed* a match for Juliet. .... The terrified Juliet was in a sad perplexity at her father's offer.

The second sentence presented in (6') follows the original one later in the paragraph, and explicitly states that a suggestion was made directly to Juliet. Thus, the *for*-phrase is here equivalent to a *to*-phrase. This is supported by Poutsma (MS, s.v. *propose*) quoting the exact same sentence in the category "with *for*", where his other, separately numbered, example is similar to (4).

Another instance, with a problem similar to the one with NP + *for* + NP is the pattern NP + *as* + NP. The analysis of such tokens followed that of NP + *for* + NP, most of them being similar to (4) above: the structure resembles that of "proposing someone as a chairman", for example, but the context is not that of a meeting or work environment. However, one token stood out as not being clearly parallel to the other examples:

(8) Probable error of Hume in one the criterions [sic.] that he *proposes* as assisting in an estimate of population. (1798 Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population*)

The sentence in (8) appears in some kind of a listing of the contents of the following chapter. The *as*-phrase does resemble other similar tokens, but it does not seem to fit in the role of a "position" very comfortably. As the token in (8) is not a full sentence, and it is even missing a preposition between *one* and *the criterions*, I decided to treat it as an NP complement. Nevertheless, if the *as*-phrase was interpreted to be part of the complementing element of *propose*, the pattern would be NP + *as* + *-ing* clause rather than NP + *as* + NP.

The number of tokens similar to (3b) was very high, as 37, i.e. approximately half, of the 75 tokens contained an extracted complement. After identification, these tokens were further analysed following Postal's (1994, 162) classification with the modification introduced in Section 3.6.3. Only three different extraction types could be found in the data examined. The most frequent of these with 28 tokens is restrictive relative extraction, which seems to be slightly more common with *proposed* than *propose*, as 17 of these occurred with the former and 8 with the latter. Thus, 42.5 % of all the NP complements of *proposed* were extracted by restrictive relative extraction, the figure being 34.8 % for *propose* and 42.9 % for *proposes*. This might be due to constructions like the

following:

(9) No other subject was broached – not any of the work *proposed* was begun, as it was useless to do anything if they were to leave the island. (1841 Marryat, *Masterman Ready*)

There were a total of six examples of constructions like these with NP complements. I have included them in the group of restrictive relative extraction, as they can be rephrased as relative clauses:

(9') No other subject was broached – not any of *the work that was proposed* was begun...

The use of the non-finite clause in (9) can be justified by the *horror aequi* principle: the sentence already contains two passive constructions, and *was* is repeated three times in a relatively short stretch of writing. In fact, this idea is supported by Leech and Svartvik (2002, 203), who state that non-finite clauses are used in written English to avoid repetition and shorten the sentence. The five remaining tokens can all be similarly explained by either the first or – where the *horror aequi* does not play a part – by the second reason.

In addition to the 28 tokens of restrictive relative extraction, 6 tokens of question extraction, and 3 of pseudo clefting occurred in the CLMET 2 data:

(10) …the seamen again consulted together, and then asked him what he *proposed*. (1841 Marryat, *Masterman Ready*)
(11) [W]hat I *propose* is this: we have made a discovery on the south of the island... (1841 Marryat, *Masterman Ready*)
(12) Your idea of an early dinner is exactly what we *propose*... (1796-1817 Austen, *Letters to her Sister*)

In (10) *propose* appears in an indirect question, and *what* has been extracted, whereas the constructions in both (11) and (12) exemplify pseudo clefts: (11) is the only example of basic pseudo clefting, whereas (12) and one other token were reversed pseudo clefts (i.e. examples of clefting in Postal's (1994, 162) categorisation).

Two other phenomena that cause additional complexity are insertions and passivisation, mentioned in Section 3.6.2 above. Although complexity does not have an effect on the selection of non-sentential complements, it does cause transformations in the typical structures of sentences:

(13) Suppress Internal Enemies, for one thing, answers the Patriot Legislative; and *proposes*, **on the 24th of May**, its Decree for the Banishment of Priests. (1837 Carlyle, *The French Revolution*)
(14) Several plans have been lately *proposed* for the national education of the poor... (1813 Owen, *A New View of Soviety*)

In (13) the bolded material has been inserted between the matrix verb and the complement. There were three instances like this, all with *proposes* in the same text and two of them just a couple of lines apart. In (14), as with extractions, the complement is on the left of the matrix verb, but this time the reason is the passive construction. There were a total of five tokens involving passivisation in the data.

As regards the semantics of the NP complement, it occurs with five different senses of *propose*, which is more than any of the other complement patterns:[4]

(15) ...Henry *proposed* a pedestrian tour in the environs of Ingolstadt... (Sense 1; 1818 Shelly, *Frankenstein*)
(16) I *propose* nothing but to die in Coruna, perhaps in the hospital, if they will admit me. (Sense 2; 1842 Borrow, *The Bible in Spain*)
(17) The system of equality which Mr Godwin *proposes* is, without doubt, by far the most beautiful and engaging of any that has yet appeared. (Sense 3; 1798 Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population*)
(18) And in the age of the Revolution, one of the sturdiest Scotch republicans *proposed* the reestablishment of slavery... (Sense 5; 1829 Southey, *Sir Thomas More*)
(19) Alice first broke silence; holding her tea-cup with the manner of one *proposing* a toast, she said... (Sense 6; 1848 Gaskell, *Mary Barton*)

In (15) *Henry* suggests *a pedestrian tour* as a plan or an idea, which differs from (17) in that the idea in the latter, *the system of equality*, is more abstract, and it is presented for consideration on a theoretical level. The difference between (17) and (18), on the other hand, is purely the context: there are a couple of texts in the CLMET 2 that are set in a war or revolution context, and these, in addition to meetings, were included under sense 5, as they were specific enough to be considered as a separate category. Depending on the type of thing proposed, the context determines whether something that could be thought of as carrying either sense 1 or 3 is in the end listed under sense 5.

To return to the rest of the examples, in (16) *I* intends to do *nothing but to die in Coruna*, whereas in (19) the content of the NP *a toast* speaks for itself and the meaning is clearly that of

4 See Table 10 in Section 5.2.3 for an overview of the sense and structure of *propose* in the CLMET 2.

suggesting a toast. Looking at the examples we notice that sense 4 is the only one that did not take an NP as its complement in the CLMET 2, although two such constructions were found in the dictionaries, as was shown in Table 8 in Section 4.5. Otherwise the findings correspond well with the discoveries made on the basis of the dictionaries, although the frequencies vary: sense 1, for example, is more common than the dictionaries lead to believe.

As regards the theta roles, the NP complement of *propose* takes the role Theme in all of the tokens in the CLMET 2: it is the person or thing undergoing the action or moved by it. Thus, all the underlined elements in (15) to (19) are Themes. The subject of *propose*, on the other hand, takes the role Agent with the exception of one case. When *propose* means *to anticipate*, which is a subsense of sense 2 and a cognitive function rather than an action, the subject, for example *you* in (20), takes the role Experiencer:

(20) ...<u>what</u> you yourself *proposed*, as I learn from Haredale; and what I predicted--with no great exercise of sagacity--she would do. (1841 Dickens, *Barnaby rudge*)

It should be noted here that (20) allows two different kinds of readings: the complement of *proposed* can be analysed to be *what*, which I have done here, or it can be thought to share the *that*-clause complement of *predict*, “she would do”. The reason I chose the former reading is the semicolon, which separates the sentences from each other. Furthermore, *what* is spelled out in relation to both *propose* and *predict*, which means that we are not forced to think of the first *what* as an extracted complement of *do*.

5.2.1.2 *To* + NP and *for* + NP

In this section the focus turns to two very similar complements of *propose*, namely *to* + NP and *for* + NP:

(21) Was Mr Huntingdon *proposing* to you, Helen? (*to* + NP; 1848 Brontë, *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall*)

(22) Waiter. A note from my Lady Piercefield, sir.
Miss B. Charming woman! Is she here, pray, sir?
Waiter. Just come. Yes, ma'am. (Exit Waiter.)
Miss B. Well, Mr. Bursal, what is it?
Mr. B. (reads). "Business of importance to communicate--" Hum! what can it be?--(going).
Miss B. (aside). Perhaps some match to *propose* for me! (Aloud). Mr. Bursal, pray before you go to her ladyship, do send my OOMAN to me to make me presentable. (*for* + NP, 1796-1801 Edgeworth, *The Parent's Assistant*)

Both of the patterns are relatively straightforward to identify, but it should be mentioned that (22) is rather similar to (6) above, the differences in the way the sentences are constructed making the analysis of the *for* + NP in (22) as a complement somewhat easier: in (6) the *for*-phrase directly followed the noun *match*, which made the sentence ambiguous without the additional context, whereas here the *for*-phrase occurs closer to the verb.

Both of the complements are rather infrequent with seven and three hits, and no signs of extraction or any other types of complexity were found with them. In addition to the syntax of the patterns, their semantics is rather simple: both of the patterns only occur in the marriage sense, i.e. sense 4, with the exception of one case in which the meaning of *propose* could not be identified with certainty:

(23) ...he was much astonished at the Captain's coming into the City to *propose* to poet. (1848 Dickens, *Dombey and Son*)

As *poet* is not used as a verb, it is most likely that the article has been left out here, in which case the meaning of *propose* would be the same as in all the other cases.

In fact, the tendency of *to* + NP and *for* + NP to be used with sense 4 was already seen in Table 8, which displays the sense and structure relations of *propose* in the dictionaries. Furthermore, sense 4 preferring these two complements is noted in the definition of sense 4e in the *OED* (s.v. *propose*): "To make an offer of marriage (*to* someone). Also (now rarely) with *for*." The definition

suggests that a decrease in the frequency of the *for* + NP complement might be seen in the later data. However, the earliest example of the sense in the *OED* is marked as coming from approximately 1771, which means that the results found here could reflect the starting point for the two complements and sense 4 quite accurately.

As regards the theta roles of *propose*, the subject always takes the role Agent with sense 4. The NP following *to* or *for* can be thought of as either a Goal or a Benefactive depending on whether a person is considered to benefit from receiving a marriage proposal. In (22), for example, Miss B. seems to be excited about the possibility that there might be a match that is willing to propose to her, which would justify the interpretation of *me* as a Benefactive.

5.2.1.3 Other non-sentential NP patterns

In this section we move on to the five remaining non-sentential NP patterns, all of which contain two nominal elements:

(24) ...I *propose* myself great pleasure from a regular correspondence with the only man almost I ever saw... (NP + NP; 1780-96 Burns, *The Letters of Robert Burns*)
(25) Well, I *propose* to him such a marriage as any nobleman in the land might be proud of... (*to* + NP + NP; 1847-48 Thackeray, *Vanity Fair*)
(26) ...[N]evertheless, if she had *proposed* the question to me, I should certainly have answered--They cannot. (NP + *to* + NP; 1792 Wollstonecraft, *Vindication of the Rights of Woman*)
(27) Consistent in his odd tastes, the child set aside a ruddy-faced lad who was *proposed* as the drawer of this carriage… (NP + *as* + NP, 1848 Dickens, *Dombey and Son*)

The fifth pattern, i.e. NP + *for* + NP, was already exemplified in (4) and (6) in Section 5.2.1.1 in connection to the discussion on problems in identifying NP + *for* + NP and NP + *as* + NP complements. The other patterns mainly returned unambiguous hits, as can be seen in the examples.

The use of these five complement types is relatively marginal, Table 9 showing NP + *to* + NP to be the most common of these with 11 hits, which corresponds to 3.7 % of the total 298. NP + *for* + NP returned four tokens, both NP + NP and NP + *as* + NP three tokens, and the *to* + NP + NP pattern was the least common of all non-sentential complements of *propose* with just two hits.

Despite their infrequency, three of these more complex NP complement constructions were subject to extractions in the data:

(28) Anne Boleyn is in no respect worthy of the honour you *propose* her. (1843 Ainsworth, *Windsor Castle*)
(29) Nay, even the vengeance which he had *proposed* to himself... (1848 Gaskell, *Mary Barton*)
(30) ...and Minerva made her that she appeared never so comely in their sight as that day, and they were inflamed with the beholding of so much beauty, *proposed* as the price of so great manhood... (1808 Lamb, *Adventures of Ulysses*)

In (28) the latter NP of an NP + NP complement has been extracted by restrictive relative extraction, whereas in (29) the first NP of an NP + *to* + NP complement has been moved. There were three further examples of the kind in (29), and an additional one with non-restrictive relative extraction in the CLMET 2. In two of the three examples similar to (29), the first NP immediately precedes *proposed* as in (30) here and (9) above, but, again, the sentences could be rephrased as relative clauses. In both of these the reason for using the non-finite sentence seems to be the length rather than the avoidance of repetition. Moreover, example (30) is somewhat odd both syntactically and semantically, but it has here been analysed as an example of non-restrictive relative extraction. As regards other types of complexity, just one example was found:

(31) [H]e *proposed* the latter himself to Dr. Fellowes... (1796-1817 Austen, *Letters to her Sister*)

In (31) a reflexive pronoun has been inserted between the first NP and the prepositional phrase of an NP + *to* + NP complement.

The NP patterns discussed in this section mainly occur with senses 1, 2, and 3. NP + NP is found once with all of these, whereas the *to* + NP + NP complement occurs once with sense 2 and once with sense 4. NP + *to* + NP is used with fewer senses than in the dictionaries, as there are no examples of senses 4 and 6 with the pattern in the CLMET 2. However, the most common sense with NP + *to* + NP, sense 1, was not exemplified in any of the dictionaries. Contrary to what the dictionaries led to expect, NP + *for* + NP and NP + *as* + NP are only found with sense 1 instead of the meeting sense (5). However, the *for* + NP or *as* + NP element in sense 1 can be thought of as being parallel to the position that someone is proposed for in the meeting sense, for example a *chairman* in *I propose him for chairman*, although the context is completely different.

The theta roles of the subjects of *propose* in the tokens discussed here are similar to those in the previous section: the subject is an Agent with the exception of example (24) above, in which the meaning of *propose* is *to anticipate* and the subject is thus an Experiencer. The thing that is being proposed, i.e. *great pleasure* in (24), *such a marriage* in (25), and *the question* in (26) has the theta role Theme, whereas the object towards which the proposition is made is considered to be a Goal (or in some cases a Benefactive, as explained in Section 5.2.1.2 above). Although there is no *to* or *for* indicating the receiving NP in an NP + NP complement, the same holds true for this pattern.

However, assigning a theta role for the second nominal element of the NP + *for* + NP and NP + *as* + NP patterns is a little more complicated. After a careful consideration of Haegeman's (1991, 41-42) list, the NP in the *for* + NP and *as* + NP parts of the complements was also given the role Goal, although it differs from the Goal in the other complements: the position in sense 5, or the corresponding item in sense 1, is "the entity towards which the activity expressed by the predicate is directed" (Haegeman 1991, 42), as the Theme, i.e. the person or thing proposed, is figuratively moving to the position expressed by the Goal.

Finally, it should be mentioned that of the patterns exemplified in the dictionaries after the year 1700 (see Table 8), *for* + NP + *in* + NP was not found in the CLMET 2. The *for* + NP + *in* + NP example in the *OED* comes from Hugh Walpole's book:

(32) She had been amazed when the handsome young Pomfret Herries had *proposed* <u>for her in marriage</u>. (1931 Walpole)

5.2.1.4 Zero complement

The last construction to discuss is the intransitive use of *propose*, i.e. the zero complement. There were a total of 17 occurrences of the zero complement in the data. The number converts to a percentage of just 5.7 % of all the tokens in the CLMET 2, which means that *propose* clearly favours transitive uses. In addition to simple intransitive sentences, *propose* occurs in *as*-clauses and as the complement of *have*:

(33) [T]his or that orator *proposing*, but Marat disposing. (1837 Carlyle, *The French Revolution*)
(34) I went to the Heights as I *proposed*. (1847 Brontë, *Wuthering Heights*)
(35) Have you anything else to *propose* for my domestic felicity? (1813 Austen, *Pride and Prejudice*)

There were a total of 9 hits similar to (33), but *propose* was contrasted with *dispose* in just one additional case, although the word pair occurred in multiple examples in the *OED*. In three sentences *propose* took a zero complement when it followed the verb *have* as in (35).[5] Finally, there were five instances of *propose* in an *as*-clause among the tokens. The analysis of the construction as a zero complement becomes clear, when (34) is rephrased:

(34') I *proposed* to go to the Heights.

In (34) the going has already happened, whereas in (34') we do not know whether the going has happened or is going to happen at all. Thus, there is clearly a difference in meaning in these two sentences, and the *as*-clause has to be treated as a construction of its own: it cannot be rephrased so that *propose* would have a complement without changing the meaning of the sentence.

The zero complement occurred with senses 1 and 2 in eight and three tokens, respectively. The third sense the zero complement was found with is the marriage sense, i.e. sense 4. There were a total of five examples in the CLMET, which accounts for one third of all the tokens of sense 4:

(36) Everybody admired her there; everybody danced with her; but no one *proposed* who was worth the marrying... (1847-48 Thackeray, *Vanity* Fair)

Additionally, there was one sentence that could not be assigned a sense with certainty:

(37) ‘We are going to have some music, Mr. Dombey, I hope?’ said Cleopatra.
‘Mrs. Granger has been kind enough to promise so,’ said Mr. Dombey.
‘Ah! That’s very nice. Do you *propose*, Major?’
‘No, Ma’am,’ said the Major. ‘Couldn’t do it.’
‘You’re a barbarous being,’ replied the lady, ‘and my hand’s destroyed. You are fond of music, Mr. Dombey?’ (1848 Dickens, *Dombey and Son*)

The context suggest that *propose* could refer either to music (explicitly mentioned) or a card game (*my hand’s destroyed*), although there were no definitions in any of the dictionaries that have to do

[5] It can be argued that, similarly to extractions, there is a gap after *propose* in this construction, resembling a reduced relative, although a relative pronoun cannot be added to (35) in its current form. However, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss the pattern in more detail, and the reader is referred to Quirk et al. (1985; 1394ff., 1411ff.) for discussion on similar constructions.

with the latter. The *OED* defines a sense for *propose* in the music context, "to announce (a subject) for imitation or contrapuntal treatment", but this does not seem to fit in the context of (37) smoothly.

Concerning the theta roles, there was again one example of a subject that took the role Experiencer as a result of *propose* meaning *to anticipate*, whereas all the rest were assigned the role Agent.

5.2.2 Sentential complements in the CLMET 2

In this section we move on to the sentential complements of *propose*. The discussion starts with the non-finite complements, the *to*-infinitive and its "rival", the *-ing* clause. In 5.2.2.2 the focus is on *that*-clauses, and in 5.2.2.3 the rest of the sentential complements are briefly commented on.

5.2.2.1 *To*-infinitive and *-ing* clause

The most common of the sentential complements is the *to*-infinitive with 75 tokens, 25.2 % of the total 298. As mentioned above, it is the most common complement of *propose* together with the NP. The tokens are very evenly distributed between the verb forms, as Table 9 shows: roughly 24-30 % of the hits for each verb form are *to*-infinitive complements. The percentage is highest, by a narrow margin, for *proposing*, which could have something to do with the *horror aequi* principle: the *-ing* clause complement did not occur with *proposing*, which suggests that it prefers the *to*-infinitive, and the *-ing* clauses occurring with the other verb forms are compensated for by a higher number of infinitives. However, *proposing* only returned a total of 20 hits in the data, and all conclusions regarding the *horror aequi* in connection to it are speculative at best. In addition to the six *to*-infinitives with *proposing*, there seem to be just two tokens of the *to*-infinitive complement, in which *horror aequi* might have played a part:

(38) During a very dry season, it was *proposed* to attempt **cutting** a channel from it for the sake of the water... (1839 Darwin, *Voyage of the Beagle*)
(39) ...and it was seriously *proposed* to prohibit **the printing** of any book that could be afforded for sale below the price... (1829 Southey, *Sir Thomas More*)

In (38) the complement of *attempt* is in the *-ing* form, which might have affected the selection of the *to*-infinitive as the complement of *propose*. In (39), on the other hand, the *-ing* form is nominal, and thus less likely to have an effect on the form of its matrix verb, the complement of *propose*. No tokens of the type "to propose + *to*-inf." were encountered in the CLMET 2, which means that there were no violations of the *horror aequi* principle with the *to*-infinitive complement.

The "rival" of the *to*-infinitive, the *-ing* clause complement, was used in a total of 23 instances, which is less than one third of the number for the *to*-infinitives. As was noted above, this complement did not occur with *proposing*, which is why there are no violations of the *horror aequi* principle in the data. There are, however, two cases in which the *horror aequi* might have affected the complement choice:

(40) Two young Scotch Surgeons in the Island were polite enough to *propose* taking off the Thigh at one, but to that he would not consent. (1796-1817 Austen, *Letters to her Sister*)
(41) I *propose* being asked to dance by our acquaintance Mr. Smith... (1796-1817 Austen, *Letters to her Sister*)

Both of the examples come from Austen's *Letters to her Sister*. In (40) the *-ing* clause complement is preceded by a *to*-infinitival form of *propose*, whereas in (41) the passivised complement, *being asked*, is followed by a *to*-infinitival form. Excluding the *to*-infinitive complements of *proposing*, the role of the *horror aequi* principle in the complement selection of *propose* is not very strong due to the low frequency of tokens in which it could have played a part.

Another issue to consider here is the extraction of an element from the lower clause. There are a total of 20 extractions from the subordinate clauses with *to*-infinitive or *-ing* clause complements in the data: seven were restrictive relative extractions, six non-restrictive relative extractions, one pseudo cleft, and six question extractions, in five of which *do* was the dependent verb in the *to*-infinitive:

(42) ...before she bore down personally upon any individual **whom** she *proposed* to subjugate... (Restrictive relative extraction; Thackeray, *Vanity Fair*)
(43) I have long had it in my head to try my hand in the way of little prose essays, **which** I *propose* sending into the world... (Non-restrictive relative extraction; 1780-96 Burns, *The Letters of Robert Burns*)
(44) **What** I *propose* to do is this. (Pseudo cleft; 1843 Ainsworth, *Windsor Castle*)

(45) And **what** do you *propose* to do with the old house? (Question extraction; 1841 Marryat, *Masterman Ready*)

16 of the extractions followed Vosberg's (2003b, 308) extraction principle: they occurred with the infinitival pattern, as in examples (42), (44), and (45), which Vosberg claims to be the tendency. Four, however, did not behave accordingly, as one complement of an *-ing* form was extracted by non-restrictive (43 above) and three by restrictive relative extraction:

(46) …an invitation to accompany her uncle and aunt in a tour of pleasure **which** they *proposed* taking in the summer. (1813 Austen, *Pride and Prejudice*)
(47) Two or three leagues farther there was an inn and village **where** we had *proposed* staying… (1842 Borrow, *The Bible in Spain*)
(48) …Lord Spencer has been so good as to say he would include him in an arrangement **that** he *proposes* making in a short time relative to some promotions in that quarter. (1796-1817 Austen, *Letters to her Sister*)

It will be interesting to see how the situation has developed in the later data, and whether the Great Complement Shift (see Section 3.6.1) is relevant to the phenomenon: could it have overridden the extraction principle? Are the violations here a result of that?

In addition to extractions a few instances of other types of complexity were encountered:

(49) I would humbly *propose*, **instead of the younker knitting stockings**, to put a stock and horn into his hands. (1780-96 Burns, *The Letters of Robert Burns*)
(50) ...in which he offers, voluntarily *proposes*, to free you from your pledge. (1841 Dickens, *Barnaby Rudge*)
(51) I *proposed* **and pressed** being sent home on Thursday... (1796-1817 Austen, *Letters to her Sister*)

There were a total of five instances similar to (49) in the data: something has been inserted between the matrix verb and its complement. All of the complements in these sentences were *to*-infinitives, which is in accordance with Rohdenburg's (1995, 368) idea: *to*-infinitives are more explicitly sentential than *-ing* clauses, and are preferred in more complex and discontinuous environments.

In (50), on the other hand, the discontinuity is caused by *propose* sharing its complement with the verb it is coordinated with, namely *offer*. Although the complement follows *propose* directly, they are separated by a comma, as *propose* occurs in a parenthetical. In (51) the situation is similar, but this time the coordinated verb is between *propose* and the complement. Rohdenburg's (ibid.) principle is not followed in this case, as the complement is an *-ing* clause. However, another factor

is also in play here: the complement selection of *press* is probably considered to be more important, as it immediately precedes the *-ing* form.

Similarly to the dictionary examples in Table 8, both the *to*-infinitive and *-ing* clause complements are almost exclusively found with senses 1 and 2 of *propose*:

(52) Bellarius also *proposed* to carry her out into the forest, and there celebrate her funeral with songs and solemn dirges, as was then the custom. Imogen's two brothers then carried her to a shady covert, and there, laying her gently on the grass, they sang repose to her departed spirit, and, covering her over with leaves and flowers … (Sense 1; 1807 Lamb, *Tales from Shakespeare*)
(53) …and he *proposes* to hire a carriage for a whole month. (Sense 2; 1821 Galt, *Ayrshire Legatees*)
(54) The young woman whom I mentioned to you *proposed* rowing me across the water amongst the rocks. (Sense 1; 1796 Wollstonecraft, *Letters on Sweden, Norway and Denmark*)
(55) I *propose* giving you the first call, my old friend the second, and Miss Nimmo as I return home. (Sense 2; 1780-96 Burns, *The Letters of Robert Burns*)

The *to*-infinitive follows the results of the dictionary analysis, as approximately 70 % of the tokens in both sources were with sense 2. As for the *-ing* clause, it occurred with sense 1 in five sentences in both the CLMET 2 and the dictionaries, but there were seven more, i.e. 17, occurrences with sense 2 in the CLMET 2. Additionally, there was one instance of both complement patterns in sense 5:

(56) [A]nd it was seriously *proposed* to prohibit the printing of any book that could be afforded for sale below the price of… (1829 Southey, *Sir Thomas More*)
(57) He *proposed* sending delegates to entreat the assistance of other Trades Unions in other towns. (1848 Gaskell, *Mary Barton*)

As both examples show, the only difference between sense 1 and sense 5 seems to be the context in which the proposition is made.

As regards the control patterns of the *to*-infinitive and *-ing* clause complements, they involve subject control for the most part, as was suggested in the discussion on control in the first half of the thesis (see Section 3.5):

(53') …and he *proposes* [he]$_{PRO}$ to hire a carriage for a whole month.
(55') I *propose* [I]$_{PRO}$ giving you the first call, my old friend the second, and Miss Nimmo as I return home.

However, there are at least four instances of *to*-infinitives and two of *-ing* clauses in which the subject of the dependent verb seems to involve both the speaker and the hearer of the utterance, although the controller is not explicitly spelled out.[6] One such case with the *-ing* clause complement is exemplified in (57) above, and another one with the *to*-infinitive can be found in (58):

(58) I *propose* to cut all the timber we want for the houses out of this part of the grove... (1841 Marryat, *Masterman Ready*)

If we recall the method of rephrasing these sentences in Section 3.5 so that the complement becomes a *that*-clause, the sentences in (57) and (58) would begin as follows:

(57') He *proposed* that we/they send...
(58') I *propose* that we cut...

In (58) the preference for control involving both the speaker and the hearer is made stronger by the personal pronoun *we* functioning as the subject of *want* in the subordinate clause. This type of control pattern seems to be closely related to sense 1 of *propose*, as in five of the six tokens *propose* occurs in that particular sense. (57) is the only example with sense 5, but as was already established, the meaning is essentially similar to sense 1.

Duffley (2000, 221) recognises the possibility of this (speaker/)hearer type of control with the *-ing* clause complement, but not with the *to*-infinitive. He (2000, 235) claims that "when the *to*-infinitive is used as a complement of another verb, it always has the same 'subject' as the matrix". There is clearly a contradiction between Duffley's view and both the evidence found with *propose* in the data and Poutsma's (MS, s.v. *propose*) observation of "the subject of the action indicated by the infinitive" being "the speaker(s), the person(s) spoken to, or the speaker and the person(s) spoken to together". Duffley (2000, 237) notes that the subject of the *-ing* clause complement is defined by the semantics of the matrix verb, "the grammatical meaning of the *-ing*, and the function of the *-ing* with respect to the matrix". He (2000, 238) gives an example with *propose*, "He proposed seeing a psychiatrist.", and states that the action expressed by the *-ing* clause is "logically

[6] I say *at least*, because in some cases the context allows for the interpretation of both subject and speaker/hearer control, and it is not clear from the immediate context which one has been intended. In (57), for example, it could be that *he* would be the one sending the delegates, but it is more likely that all of those present at the meeting would be initiators of the action, as it is something that has to be proposed to others.

understood" as not being done by the person proposing it. Duffley (ibid.) also recognises the possibility of a sentence allowing a reading of both subject and the (speaker/)hearer type of control, especially with limited context.

After his discussion of the *-ing* clauses, Duffley (2000, 340) presents a sentence that seems like a counter-example to his theory and argues that in the given sentence, "John said to be careful.", the *to*-infinitive is "construed as a direct object", and can be replaced with a pronoun as in "John said that!" as well as allows pseudo clefting unlike the *to*-infinitive in "John tried to be careful." However, what this shows is that there is a difference between the *to*-infinitives taking the (speaker/)hearer type of control and the *to*-infinitives taking subject control. What it does not prove, on the other hand, is there being a difference between the *-ing* clause and the *to*-infinitive complements: both (57) and (58) above readily allow the transformations. In fact, Duffley (2000, 242) concludes that with verbs of communication "the *to*-infinitive phrase is neutral with respect to control just like the *-ing* is, with the interpretation depending on the lexical content of the matrix". Does this not, then, prove Duffley's (2000, 235) own claim of *to*-infinitive complements *always* taking subject control wrong? On the basis of the arguments presented here it definitely seems so.[7]

As with the non-sentential complement patterns, the subject of *propose* takes the theta role Agent almost unexceptionally. There were just two examples of the Experiencer role, and both of them were in Austen's texts:

(59) I *propose* <u>being</u> asked to dance by our acquaintance Mr. Smith… (1796-1817 Austen, *Letters to her Sister*)
(60) She had fully *proposed* <u>being</u> engaged by Mr. Wickham for those very dances; and to have Mr. Collins instead! (1813 Austen, *Pride and Prejudice*)

When the meaning of *propose* resembles that of "to intend", assigning the theta role to the subject of *propose* becomes somewhat more complicated: intending does not denote a clear action in itself,

[7] Whether Duffley's (2000) initial statement is considered to be refuted by his own arguments or not does not change the fact that the *to*-infinitive complements of *propose* allow the (speaker/)hearer type of control, as it is a verb of communication, and thus belongs to Duffley's (2000, 241-242) category of verbs taking *to*-infinitive complements that have the function of a direct object. For Duffley's full argumentation as well as further views on the issue, see, e.g., Duffley (2000), Rudanko (1996), Schachter (1976), and Thompson (1973).

but it does, however, imply that the subject intentionally does something rather than just experiences a psychological state. Thus, the subject also takes the theta role Agent in this sense:

(61) She *proposed* to resume this exercise on the present day... (1847-48 Thackeray, *Vanity Fair*)

Unlike with the non-sentential complements, theta roles are not assigned to the *to*-infinitive and *-ing* clause complements themselves. Instead, a role is assigned to the lower, i.e. understood, subject. These theta roles, then, depend on the nature of the lower verb. *Propose* seems to take verbs expressing a type of action as its complements: (59), (60), and an additional example from Austen's *Letters to her Sister* are the only tokens in which the lower subject takes the role Theme instead of Agent. The reason for the theta role being Theme instead of Agent is that the lower clause is in the passive, and the lower subject would be an object of the complement verb if it was changed into the active voice.

On the basis of the findings made in this section, the *to*-infinitive and *-ing* clause complements seem to be at least superficially similar in their semantics, and Huddleston and Pullum's (2002, 1241) statement of there being "no discernible difference" in meaning between these two sentential complements is somewhat justified. However, as a result of his study of the *-ing* and *for-to* complements, Bolinger (1968, 127) concluded that "a difference in syntactic form always spells a difference in meaning". As Bolinger's generalisation is a valued theory in the field of complementation, further comparison of the *to*-infinitive and *-ing* clause complements of *propose* would be needed to be able to make any opposing conclusions on the nature of the verb.

5.2.2.2 *That*-clauses

The third most common complement, the *that*-clause, accounts for 17.8 % of the 298 tokens: a total of 53 instances were identified in the data. The *that*-clause complement seems to be the least common with the verb form *propose*. This is reflected in the numbers of the *to* + NP + *that*-cl. complement, in which an object is inserted between the matrix verb and the *that*-clause: the search returned seven hits, none of which occurred with *propose*:

(62) ...and he at last *proposed* to his leader that they should return as soon as the rain abated. (1843 Ainsworth, *Windsor Castle*)

(63) In consequence of this reasoning, Cecilia formed a design of *proposing* to her companions that they should give a prize... (1796-1801 Edgeworth, *The Parent's Assistant*)

In just five of all the *that*-clause complements the *that*-complementiser was left out:

(64) She was absent such a while that Joseph *proposed* we should wait no longer. (1847 Brontë, *Wuthering Heights*)
(65) The difficulty is just and well stated, and I am afraid that the mode by which he *proposes* it should be removed will be found inefficacious. (1798 Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population*)
(66) I *propose* it shall be the work of my utmost exertions, ripened by years. (1780-96 Burns, *The Letters of Robert Burns*)

In (64) and (65) the *that*-clause itself is embedded in another *that*-clause, which might have been the reason for leaving out the *that*-complementiser. Furthermore, in (64), as well as (66), the subordinate clause is otherwise relatively simple and there are no obvious complexity factors involved, which supports Vosberg's (2003a, 210-11) view on the omission of the *that*-complementiser. In (65), on the other hand, *by which* has been extracted from the lower clause, which makes the sentence more complex. The structure seems to be a border-case between an ordinary *that*-clause and the construction discussed below.

In the two remaining examples, then, the structure of the sentence is such that if one was willing to retain the *that*-complementiser, the whole clause would have to be reformulated:

(67) This posthumous publication is only a sketch of a much larger work, which he *proposed* should be executed. (1798 Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population*)
(68) [N]ow tell me what you *propose* shall be our several occupations for the next week, for to-morrow is Sunday. (1841 Marryat, *Masterman Ready*)

It seems that the subject of the Ø*that*-clause complement is the NP that has been extracted:

(67') He *proposed* (that) a much larger work should be executed.
(68') You propose (that) those shall be our occupations for the next week.

In (67) the oddity arises from the passivisation of the dependent clause: if we change the *that*-clause into an active form, we notice that it is, in fact, the object of *execute* that has been extracted by non-restrictive relative extraction over clause boundaries:

(67") This posthumous publication is only a sketch of a much larger work, which he *proposed* (that) they should execute.

In (68), on the other hand, the *those* of (68') has been replaced with *what* due to question extraction, and the extracted element is indeed the subject of the *that*-clause.

Both (67) and (68) are counterevidence to Rohdenburg's (1996, 151) Complexity Principle and to Vosberg's (2003a, 210-11) further statement on the nature of the *that*-complementiser, as the more complex environment is here the one that *requires* the omission of *that*. In fact, Perlmutter (1971, 108) states that sentences in which the subject of the relative clause has been extracted can be made grammatical by deleting the *that*-complementiser. He (1971, 100ff.) suggests that the reason behind this is a surface constraint that requires the presence of a subject in sentences other than imperatives rather than the obligatory deletion of the complementiser when it precedes a verb.[8] What makes (65) a border case, then, is the fact that, despite the extraction, the *that*-complementiser can be more readily retained than in either (67) or (68). (65) is actually similar to (67"), in which the *that*-clause has been changed into the active, and the extracted element is no longer the subject of the *that*-clause.

What follows from the omission of *that* with *propose* being relatively uncommon is that in all the instances of *to* + NP + *that*-cl. as well as those *that*-clause complements in which insertions are present *that* is spelled out. Material was inserted between *propose* and the *that*-clause in a total of eight sentences. In addition, the subordinate clauses were long or discontinuous in altogether 21 tokens. Thus, there were 19 *that*-clause complements in which *that* could have been omitted without violating the Complexity Principle.

54 of the total 60 *that*-clause complements occurred with sense 1 in the CLMET 2. All of the seven *to* + NP + *that*-cl. complements were included in the number 54, whereas there was one instance of a *that*-clause complement with sense 2 and five instances with sense 5:

(69) I *propose* it shall be the work of my utmost exertions… (1780-96 Burns, *The Letters of Robert Burns*)

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[8] See Perlmutter (1971) for the full reasoning behind the statement.

(70) For this Wednesday again passes in debate and effervescence; Girondins *proposing* that a 'majority of three-fourths' shall be required; Patriots fiercely resisting them. (1837 Carlyle, *The French Revolution*)

In (69) the meaning of *propose* is "intend", whereas in (70) the proposition is made in some kind of an official gathering context. As with NP complements, the examples of sense 5 are mainly found in Carlyle's *The French Revolution*, which explains why the *that*-clause complement is more frequent in this sense in the CLMET 2 than in the dictionaries. Other than that, the results are quite well in accordance with those of Table 8, the major difference being that the *to* + NP + *that*-cl. complement was not mentioned in any of the dictionaries. Quirk et al. (1985, 1213-14) did, however, note the possibility of the construction with *propose*.

The reason for the prominence of sense 1 is made clearer if we take a look at the content of the *that*-clauses: in 35 out of the 53 *that*-clauses and in 6 out of the 7 *to* + NP + *that*-cl. complements the auxiliary *should* is used. Examples (69) and (70) provide two additional tokens with *shall*. This trend was also visible in the dictionaries, and the reason for it is probably the fact that it emphasises the need for doing what has been suggested. In fact, sense 1c of the *OED* (s.v. *propose*) explicitly notes the use of *that*-clauses with this particular sense: "to recommend or advocate *that* something be done". Furthermore, Quirk et al. (1985, 1182) mentioned that *propose* can be followed by a *that*-clause including either a putative *should*, a mandative subjunctive, or an indicative verb. Out of these three options, the putative *should* seems to be the favoured one according to the CLMET 2 data.

In regard to the theta roles, the *that*-clause complements are highly consistent in assigning them. The subject of the matrix verb has the role Agent in every single occurrence, the *that*-clause itself is a Theme, and where the *to* + NP part is present, it has the role Goal.

5.2.2.3 Other sentential patterns

We now turn to three patterns related to the sentential complements already discussed in 5.2.2.1, namely NP + *to*-inf., *to* + NP + *to*-inf., and poss. + *-ing*. There were a total of two examples of the first, seven of the second, and three of the third pattern in the CLMET 2:

(71) The principle, then, on which the doctrines taught in the New Institution are *proposed* to be founded, is, that they shall be in unison... (1813 Owen, *A New View of Society*)
(72) It is just what I *proposed* to her to do--to have crossed the Alps with me, to sail on sunny seas... (1823 Hazlitt, *Liber Amoris*)
(73) In appointing a morning's or an evening's walk, he *proposed* HER going with the rest; no one had ever required her company before. (1796 Inchbald, *Nature and Art*)

In analysing the token given as example (71), the passive construction was changed into its active correspondent:

(71') The principle, then, on which they *propose* the doctrines taught in the New Institution to be founded, is, that they shall be in unison...

The other example of the pattern was a little more complicated:

(74) The different states in which mankind have been known to exist *proposed* to be examined with reference to these three propositions. (Malthus, A*n Essay on the Principle of Population*)

The construction in (74) is somewhat odd, as the subject of the sentence seems to be the inanimate NP *the different states*. As *propose* requires its subjects to be human, there is probably a *be*-auxiliary missing in the higher clause, in which case the sentence would be in the passive, and would have to be rephrased similarly to (71).

These two sentences, (71) and (74), when they are rephrased as their active correspondents, are the only examples of object control found with *propose*. The texts they come from are similar in nature, which suggests that the heavy construction is only used in more academic contexts. In both cases, the subject of the matrix verb is an Agent, as usual, but the NP between the matrix verb and the lower verb as well as the lower subject have the role Theme due to the passivisation of the lower verb. In both (71) and (74) *propose* carries the meaning of sense 1, whereas in the dictionaries the pattern occurred once in sense 2 (before 1700) and once in sense 5. It would be a surprise to see the pattern increase in use in the later data, but if it does, that would provide support for Quirk et al.

(1985, 1181) listing it as a possible pattern for *propose*.

The pattern in (72) already proved to be special in the discussion on control in Section 3.5: the control pattern in this complement was labelled PP-object control, as the NP of the *to* + NP part controls the subject of the lower verb. Although the *to* + NP + *to*-inf. pattern only accounts for 6.5 % of all the patterns involving control in the data, it certainly stands out. As none of the grammars consulted in this thesis mentioned the pattern in relation to *propose*, whereas the two dictionaries including examples from earlier periods, i.e. the *OED* (s.v. *propose*) and Poutsma (MS, s.v. *propose*), did, the pattern might have become more infrequent, or altogether disappeared, between 1780s and the present day. We will see whether this is indeed the case when we move closer to current English in Sections 5.3 and 5.4.

The *to* + NP + *to*-inf. pattern provides two additional instances of extraction that follow Vosberg's (2003b, 308) extraction principle:

(75) …I had accomplished but a slight portion of **what** I *proposed* to myself to effect in the outset. (Question extraction; 1842 Borrow, *The Bible in Spain*)
(76) It is just **what** I *proposed* to her to do… (Pseudo clefting; 1823 Hazlitt, *Liber Amoris*)

As regards the theta roles of this patterns, in all of the tokens both the subject of *propose* and the lower subject are Agents. The *to* + NP, on the other hand, is a Goal. In six of the seven tokens, the *to* + NP + *to*-inf. pattern occurred in sense 1, (75) above being an example of sense 2: the meaning of *propose* is "to set, state or have as an aim, end, or object". Only sense 1 was exemplified in the dictionaries.

The poss. + -*ing* complement exemplified in (73) resembles nominal patterns, and has here been interpreted to include no control at all: *her* is regarded as a kind of modifier for *going*. The two other instances are almost identical to this one in their structure, although in one of them *horror aequi* might have been the reason for the complement choice:

(77) Harriot has this moment desired me to *propose* his coming hither on Monday, and taking me back the next day. (1796-1817 Austen, *Letters to her Sister*)

The sentence in (77) comes from the same text as examples (40) and (41) in 5.2.2.1, in which the -*ing* clause complement might have been selected over the *to*-infinitive on the basis of the

horror aequi principle. As in (40), the *-ing* form is here preceded by *propose* in the infinitive form. On the basis of these three examples, all coming from the same text, it could be concluded that the *horror aequi* principle is not very relevant to the complement selection of *propose* in the CLMET 2.

What comes to the sense and structure relation of the pattern, all of the tokens were examples of sense 1, which is in accordance with what was found in Poutsma (MS, s.v. *propose*). As I decided to treat the poss. + *-ing* complement as similar to the nominal patterns, the entity was given the theta role Theme in all three cases.

Finally, we move on to the only remaining complement listed in Table 9, namely the quote. In a total of three tokens *propose* preceded reported speech:

(78) Mr. Towlinson *proposes* with a sigh, 'Amendment to us all'... (1848 Dickens, *Dombey and Son*)

In one of these the reported material followed the verb directly, whereas in two there was something inserted between *propose* and the reported content, as *with a sigh* in (78) above. All of the three are instances of what Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 1026) call embedded reported speech, i.e. "the reporting verb is syntactically superordinate to the reported speech." Thus, according to them, the reported clause can be thought of as a complement of *propose* unlike in non-embedded contexts, where the reporting verb follows the quotation in the form of a parenthetical.

In all of the three quotes, the meaning had to do with proposing a toast, i.e. sense 6. As the content of the quotations is what is being proposed, the complement was assigned the role Theme similarly to *that*-clauses. The quote was not found in any of the grammars or the dictionaries, which exemplified sense 6 only with non-sentential complements, namely the NP and NP + *to* + NP.

5.2.3 Review

In the CLMET 2, the three most common complements, i.e. the NP, the *to*-infinitive and the *that*-clause, account for 68 % of the whole data. These are followed by the *-ing* clause and the zero complement, the rest of the 17 patterns being marginal in frequency.

There are two patterns, the quote and the *to* + NP + *that*-cl. complement, in the CLMET 2 that do not occur in the dictionaries. The former is not mentioned in the grammars either, whereas the latter is. All of the patterns of the grammars can be found in the data, but three patterns, *for* + NP + *in* + NP, adverb, and NP + *unto* + NP, exemplified in at least one of the dictionaries have no tokens. However, only the first of these occurred in Table 8, which means that the rest occurred in sentences dated before the year 1700.

The subject of *propose* takes the role Agent with the exception of a few cases in which *propose* carries the meaning "to anticipate", assigning the role Experiencer. The thing proposed, whether it is an NP, a quote, or a *that*-clause, is a Theme, and the person the proposal is made to is a Goal, or, in a couple of instances of sense 4, possibly a Benefactive. The sense and structure correlation is summarised in the table below.

Complement	1. To suggest a plan or an idea	2. To intend to do something; to set, state, or have as an aim, end, or object; to anticipate	3. To put something (a question, an explanation, etc.) forward for consideration or discussion	4. To make an offer of marriage	5. To suggest something for acceptance or voting at a formal gathering or similar circumstances	6. To suggest (a subject of) a toast	Not assigned
NP	39	7	10		16	3	
NP + NP	1	1	1				
to + NP				6			1
to + NP + NP		1		1			
NP + *to* + NP	5	2	3		1		
for + NP				3			
NP + *for* + NP	4						
NP +*as* + NP	3						
to + NP + *to*-inf.	6	1					
NP + *to*-inf.	2						
to + NP + *that*-cl.	7						
that-clause	47	1			5		
to-infinitive	22	52			1		
-*ing* clause	5	17			1		
poss. + -*ing*	3						
quote						3	
∅	8	3		5			1
Total	152	85	14	15	24	6	2

Table 10. Sense and structure in the CLMET 2.

Table 10 shows that sense 1 has the most variation in its complement patterns: it takes a total of 13 different complement types. Senses 2, 5, and 6 also take both non-sentential and sentential complements. Senses 3 and 4, on the other hand, prefer non-sentential complementation.

5.3 *Propose* in the CLMET 3

Out of the 377 relevant hits retrieved from the CLMET 3, 182 were found with *propose*, 20 with *proposes*, 156 with *proposed*, and 19 with *proposing*. The CLMET 3 is slightly larger than the second part of the corpus, the total word count being 4,000,000, when rounded to the nearest 100,000, which is approximately 300,000 words more than in the CLMET 2. Looking at just the raw counts of the occurrences with each verb form, the structure of the material is notably different: in the CLMET 2, the form *proposed* was roughly twice as common as *propose*, whereas here *propose* returned more hits than *proposed*. One reason for this might be that as many as 61 of the tokens for *propose* come from the same text, i.e. Booth's *In Darkest England and the Way out*. This needs to be born in mind when analysing the results and considering the frequency of each complement pattern. Table 11 displays a summary of the findings in the CLMET 3.

Complement	*Propose*	*Proposes*	*Proposed*	*Proposing*	Total	%	NF/million
NP	38	3	39	6	86	22.8	21.50
to + NP			5	3	8	2.1	2.00
to + NP + NP	1		2	1	4	1.1	1
NP + *to* + NP	2		14		16	4.2	4
for + NP	2	1		1	4	1.1	1
NP + *for* + NP	1		3	1	5	1.3	1.25
NP + *as* + NP	1		2		3	0.8	0.75
to + NP + *to*-inf.	3		3	1	7	1.9	1.75
NP + *to*-inf.			5		5	1.3	1.25
to + NP + *that*-cl.			2		2	0.5	0.5
that-clause	17		18	2	37	9.8	9.25
wh-clause	1				1	0.3	0.25
to-infinitive	101	15	45	2	163	43.2	40.75
-ing clause	4	1	7		12	3.2	3.0
∅	11		11	2	24	6.4	6.00
Total	182	20	156	19	377	~100	94.25

Table 11. *Propose* in the CLMET 3. Number of tokens by verb form, percentage, and normalised frequency for each complement pattern.

A total of 15 complement patterns were found in the CLMET 3 data. The analysis of the patterns proceeds in a similar manner as with the CLMET 2 data above.

5.3.1 Non-sentential complements in the CLMET 3

In this section, the non-sentential complement patterns of *propose* are discussed. The NP complement is considered separately in the first section, and the other nominal patterns are dealt with in the second. The discussion closes with a look at the zero complement.

5.3.1.1 NP

As Table 11 shows, the NP is the second most common complement in the CLMET 3, accounting for a little less than one fourth of all the tokens with 86 hits. If these results are compared to those in the CLMET 2, we notice that the NP has lost its position as the most common complement of *propose*, although its use has not decreased: the normalised frequencies in the subcorpora are very close to each other, the figure being 20.27 for the earlier and 21.50 for the latter period.

Most of the NP complements could be analysed in a straightforward manner:

(1) He fell in with a friend or two coming back from bathing, *proposed* a glass of beer, to which they assented… (1857 Hughes, *Tom Brown's School Days*)
(2) On common subjects any member can *propose* anything, but not on money -- the Minister only can propose to tax the people. (1867 Bagehott, *The English Constitution*)

More complicated cases, namely those in which a *for*-phrase or an *as*-phrase was present, were considered on the basis of the criteria established in the discussion of the CLMET 2 data. Those covered all of the cases encountered in the CLMET 3 data and no further problems arouse.

The proportion of extracted NP complements had slightly decreased from the earlier period to this one, as 36, i.e. 42 %, of the 86 tokens contained an extracted element. However, there was more variation in the CLMET 3, as five of Postal's (1994, 162) extraction types were identified as opposed to three in the CLMET 2: in addition to restrictive relative extraction, question extraction, and pseudo clefting, two examples of non-restrictive relative extraction and one of topicalisation were found, exemplified in (3) and (4), respectively:

(3) First, that no opposition should be offered to a visit to Chapel Farm, which had been *proposed* for the next day… (1893 Rutherford, *Catherine Furze*)
(4) The next best solution, it seemed to me, was that I should walk home: and this I at once *proposed*. (1889 Carroll, *Sylvie and Bruno*)

Another difference is that question extraction with twelve hits seems to be more common now than before, and restrictive relative extraction is thus no longer clearly the most common type. Furthermore, of the 14 instances of restrictive relative extraction eight occur with the verb form *proposed* and five of these were of the kind in (5):

(5) The arrangement *proposed* was so unquestionably the right and the proper one, that I could make no possible objection to it. (1859-60 Collins, *The Woman in White*)

In the discussion on the CLMET 2 data, it was speculated that the higher proportion of restrictive relative extraction with the verb form *proposed* as opposed to *propose*, could be because of sentences such as that in (5). It seems that in the CLMET 3 this construction remains, but the use of the full restrictive relative clause with *proposed* has decreased.

As regards other types of complexity, there were seven examples in which the NP complement had been moved because of passivisation and two instances of insertions, both of which were occurrences of the same sentence in the same text:

(6) …when twenty-four hours of Elfride had completely rekindled her admirer's ardour, a game of chess was *proposed* between them. (1873 Hardy, *A Pair of Blue Eyes*)
(7) "HE WAS THE FIRST WHO *PROPOSED* **AND PERSISTENTLY CARRIED OUT** A WELL ROUNDED THEORY…" (1880 Butler, *Unconscious Memory*)

In (6) the NP *a game of chess* is the complement of *propose*, whereas in (7) *propose* shares its complement with *carried out*.

Moving on to the semantics of *propose*, the only clear difference to the earlier data is that in the CLMET 3 no examples of the NP were found with sense 2 of the verb, "to intend to do something, to set, state or have as an aim, end, or object, to anticipate".[9] Furthermore, sense 3 by a half and sense 5 by one fourth were less common in the CLMET 3, whereas sense 1 was more common:

[9] See Table 12 in Section 5.2.3 for an overview of the sense and structure of *propose* in the CLMET 3.

(8) I *propose* the much more lurid and desperate experiment that we should make them public. (Sense 1; 1912 Chesterton, *What's Wrong with the World*)
(9) And yet, when Sophia first *proposed* her solution, Constance considered it to be a quite impossible solution. (Sense 3; 1908 Bennett, *The Old Wives' Tale*)
(10) [T]hey had been in the habit for years of *proposing* Reform Bills. (Sense 5; 1867 Bagehott, *The English Constitution*)

The differences might be related to the contents of the texts included in the two subcorpora, although with sense 2 the case could be such that its use with an NP has decreased greatly, which would be surprising on the basis of the dictionaries: NP complements with sense 2 were exemplified a total of ten times. It will be interesting to see, how the situation has developed towards the modern day in Section 5.4.

The theta roles of *propose* with the NP complement are similar to what was found in the CLMET 2:

(11) The world seems growing young when grave old lawyers and mature philosophers *propose* a scheme promising so much. (1867 Bagehott, *The English Constitution*)

In all of the tokens, the subject of *propose*, "old lawyers and mature philosophers" in (11), is an Agent, and the thing proposed, the underlined element in (11), is a Theme. As there were no examples of sense 2 in the CLMET 3, there were also none of Experiencer subjects, which could be found once in the CLMET 2 data.

However, there are two highly interesting cases among the NP complements that have to do with the subject of *propose*:

(12) A bank of sloping green shaded by a chestnut *proposed* the seat, and here he relieved the bag of a bottle of wine… (1895 Meredith, *The Amazing Marriage*)
(13) It was the present, the uncalculated present, which now disturbed the complacent habit of his thought, *proposing itself*, importunately, in the living forms of his immediate companions… (1896 Pater, *Gaston de Latour*)

As opposed to all subjects of *propose* in the CLMET 2, the subjects in (12), "a bank of sloping green shaded by a chestnut", and (13), "the present", are non-human and inanimate. If these are the only examples of the phenomenon, it might be that the use of non-human and even inanimate subjects for *propose* is a habit of just these two authors. If examples from other texts occur, it might be that *propose* has become more allowing in its selection of subjects.

5.3.1.2 Other non-sentential NP patterns

In addition to the simple NP complement, six more complex nominal patterns were identified in the CLMET 3. This is one less than in the CLMET 2: the NP + NP pattern did not occur in this later period, which could be expected on the basis of the single example found in the dictionaries occurring before 1700. The six patterns are exemplified below:

(14) …he had besieged and lain in wait for her, devising schemes for her entertainment, giving her presents, *proposing* to her periodically, and keeping her other admirers away with his perpetual presence. (*to* + NP; 1906 Galsworthy, *The Man of Property*)
(15) Decorum being again secured, Mr. S., with unimpaired dignity, *proposed* to the congregation a hymn… (*to* + NP + NP; 1907 Gosse, *Father and Son*)
(16) It was Mrs. Furze's way when she *proposed* anything to herself, to take no account of any obstacles… (NP + *to* + NP; 1893 Rutherford, *Catherine Furze*)
(17) You have only at this moment to *propose* for her hand. (*for* + NP; Meredith, *The Adventures of Harry Richmond*)
(18) My father, in a fit of bold irony, *proposed* Lady Kane for President of his Tattle and Scandal Club, -- a club of ladies dotted with gentlemen… (NP + *for* + NP; 1870 Meredith, *The Adventures of Harry Richmond*)
(19) …when I said the Doctor *proposed* Ad Mariam Dei Genetricem as the full harmonies, so to speak, which should be constructed upon the bass A.M.D.G… (NP + *as* + NP; 1903 Butler, *The Way of All Flesh*)

Examples (14)-(18) are straightforward and the complement patterns are relatively easy to identify. (19), however, is somewhat more complicated, as was the case with the construction in the CLMET 2 data. It was established that the pattern is parallel to that in (18), which is in turn set in a different context from suggesting someone for a position in a formal meeting.

Four of the patterns, which is one more than in the CLMET 2, occurred with extractions. There were a total of twelve instances of restrictive relative extraction, in which the first element of either NP + *for* + NP or NP + *to* + NP had been extracted, and two of non-restrictive relative extraction. The patterns that were subject to the latter type were *to* + NP + NP and NP + *as* + NP. Another kinds of complexity, i.e. insertions and passivisation, were found in three and ten cases, respectively. The tokens with insertions were all with the *for* + NP complement and came from the same text. Similarly, all the instances of passivisation were with one pattern, namely NP + *to* + NP, and four of these were in the same text: three of the tokens contained the same sentence in a slightly modified form:

(20) [T]hus he speaks of the "ends" *proposed* to itself by the instinct. (1880 Butler, *Unconscious Memory*)

Furthermore, the sentence in example (20) seems to contain both restrictive relative extraction and passivisation:

(20') [T]hus he speaks of the "ends" which the instinct *proposed* to itself.

Another interesting thing is that, similarly to (12) and (13) above, *propose* has a non-human, inanimate subject, *the instinct*, in (20). In the same text, only a few lines after this instance, there is another token of *propose* with the non-human subject *the animal*. It seems that *propose* does in fact allow a wider range of subjects in this later period.

As regards the senses of *propose*, *to* + NP and *for* + NP only occur in sense 4, which was also the case in the CLMET 2 and the dictionaries. NP + *for* + NP and NP + *as* + NP, on the other hand, now occur in the meeting sense, i.e. sense 5, in addition to sense 1:

(21) …and we will then place ourselves in communication with the Comrade you *propose* for this position. (1890 Booth, *In the Darkest England and the Way out*)
(22) Mr. Spicer is going to *propose* him as a member of the club, you know, and I thought the close carriage would be better for him. (1865 Yonge, *The Clever Woman of the Family*)

The kind of constructions displayed in (21) and (22) are what can be expected to be found on the basis of the dictionaries. If the two complements have become more common in sense 5 in the more recent data, it might be that the construction is a relatively new one in this particular meaning.

Both *to* + NP + NP and NP + *to* + NP occurred, again, with fewer senses than in the dictionaries, but this time the former was attested with senses 1 and 3 as opposed to 2 and 4 in the CLMET 2. The latter was found with senses 1, 2, and 5 as in the earlier data, but instead of sense 3 it also occurred in sense 4 in the CLMET 3.

Despite the rather surprising discovery of inanimate subjects, all the subjects of *propose* have the theta role Agent. In addition to Goals, some of the *to* + NP and *for* + NP (parts of the) complements can be thought of as Benefactives:

(23) I don't think men in general, at all events those with money, care to *propose* marriage to girls they encounter by the way. (1893 Gissing, *The Odd Woman*)

In (23), for example, the *girls* might benefit from the proposition, but it is largely a matter of interpretation, as was mentioned in the discussion of nominal complement patterns in the CLMET 2. The NPs without prepositions take the role Theme, as expected. In sentences like (18), (19), (21), and (22) above, in which the construction is either that in the meeting sense or parallel to it, the latter element has the role Goal, as in the CLMET 2 examples.

5.3.2.3. Zero complement

The last complement to be discussed in relation to non-sentential complements is the zero complement. There were a total of 24 instances in which *propose* was used intransitively, i.e. without an actual complement, which makes them slightly more common than in the CLMET 2: the normalised frequency is 6.00 as opposed to 4.59 in the CLMET 2. In ten tokens *propose* occurred in an *as*-clause (24), which is double as many as in the CLMET 2, in two examples it was used after *have*, as in (25), and there were no sentences in which *propose* would have been contrasted with *dispose*:

(24) Instead of going out, as I *proposed*, I went back immediately to Laura's room to tell her what I had heard. (1859-60 Collins, *The Woman in White*)
(25) I have something else to *propose*. (1893 Gissing, *The Odd Woman*)

In addition to (24), two other sentences with an *as*-clause came from the same text. As the examples in which *dispose* occurs with *propose* were already few in the CLMET 2 and are non-existent in the CLMET 3, the relatively high frequency of such sentences in the *OED* can be considered to be somewhat misleading.

The zero complement was found with the exact same senses here as earlier: senses 1, 2, and 4. About one third, i.e. seven, of the examples were related to marriage, as was the case in the CLMET 2, and in fact, the zero complement is the second most common one to occur with sense 4 after the *to* + NP complement in both subcorpora. Although there were five instances of the zero complement in sense 2, all the subjects of *propose* were Agents, which means that the meaning "to anticipate" seems to have disappeared on the basis of the non-sentential complements.

5.3.2 Sentential complements in the CLMET 3

This section focuses on the sentential complements of *propose*. First, the *to*-infinitive and *-ing* clause complements are discussed in Section 5.3.2.1. The *that*-clause complement is in the focus in Section 5.3.2.2. Finally, the less common complement patterns are considered jointly in 5.3.2.3.

5.3.2.1 *To*-infinitive and *-ing* clause

The most common complement of *propose* in the CLMET 3 is, according to Table 11 above, the *to*-infinitive by an enormous margin: 163, i.e. 43.2 %, of the 377 tokens were examples of *to*-infinitive complements. The figures convert into a normed frequency of 40.75 as opposed to 20.27 in the CLMET 2. It seems that coming to the years 1850-1920, the use of the *to*-infinitive as a complement of *propose* has doubled from the period 1780-1850. However, as the figures in Table 11 show, 101 of the instances of the *to*-infinitive complement occur with the verb form *propose*. As the *to*-infinitive was twice as common with *proposed* (41 hits) as with *propose* (21 hits) in the CLMET 2, it seems rather unlikely that the figures would now be turned upside down: there are just 45 hits with *proposed* for the *to*-infinitive in the CLMET 3.

In the introduction to the discussion of the CLMET 3 data it was mentioned that 61 of the tokens of the verb form *propose* come from Booth's *In Darkest England and the Way out*, which might be the reason for *propose* appearing so much more common than in the CLMET 2. The *to*-infinitive complement seems to be at the core of the issue: 48, i.e. almost half, of the *to*-infinitives with *propose* occur in Booth's text:

(26) All these things I *propose* <u>to do</u>. (1890 Booth, *In Darkest England and the Way out*)
(27) I *propose* <u>to multiply</u> their number, to develop their usefulness, and to make them the threshold of the whole Scheme. (1890 Booth, *In Darkest England and the Way out*)

As just five of the *to*-infinitives with *proposed* come from this source, the difference seems quite notable. Without the total 57 *to*-infinitives in the text in question, the figures for this particular complement would be 53 with *propose*, 12 with *proposes*, 40 with *proposed*, and 1 with *proposing*, adding up to a total of 106 hits. After subtracting the number of words in the file of *In Darkest*

England and the Way out (~126 000), the total word count of the CLMET 3 would be rounded to 3,900,000, which would give the *to*-infinitive a normed frequency of 27.2. This is still notably more than the 20.75 in the CLMET 2, which means that the *to*-infinitive complement has increased in use, although not as much as the figures in Table 11 suggest.

As regards the "rival" of the *to*-infinitive, i.e. the *-ing* clause complement, it seems to have decreased in use: there were just twelve hits with a normalised frequency of 3.00 in the CLMET 3, as opposed to 23 and 7.7 in the CLMET 2. This development is counter-evidence to the Great Complement Shift discussed in Section 3.6.1: both Rudanko (2012, 222) and Vosberg (2009, 213) suggest that the *-ing* clause complement has gained ground at the expense of the infinitive, although Vosberg (2009, 217) also recognises a reversed version of the Great Complement Shift in connection to some verbs. Whether *propose* is in fact one of these verbs will be confirmed by the most recent data in Section 5.4.

There were a total of four tokens in consideration of which the *horror aequi* principle might be relevant:

(28) Upon the important occasion and question now before the House, I *propose* to endeavour **to induce** them to avoid to involve the country… (1867 Bagehott, *The English Constitution*)
(29) In *proposing* to add one more to the methods I have already put into operation to this end… (1890 Booth, *In Darkest England and the Way Out*)
(30) Do I understand that you are *proposing* to marry again? (1905 Forster, *Where Angels Fear to Tread*)
(31) I have to tell you, then, that Miss Verinder *proposes* going **to stay** with her aunt, Mrs. Ablewhite, of Frizinghall. (1868 Collins, *The Moonstone*)

In (28) the *horror aequi* principle is violated, as the *to*-infinitive is used instead of the *-ing* clause, although an identical construction follows. There is a total of four *to*-infinitives close to each other in the sentence, so the author might have generally preferred the selection of a more common complement even in environments like these, which is the opposite of what Rohdenburg (2003, 236) suggests to be the tendency.

In the other three examples, then, the *horror aequi* principle is followed and the other variant could not have been chosen without violating it. In (29) and (30) the *to*-infinitive follows the *-ing*

form of *propose*, whereas in (31) the *-ing* clause complement is itself followed by a *to*-infinitive. Again, as in the CLMET 2, the *horror aequi* principle only plays a minor role, if any, in the complement selection of *propose*.

Another matter that is of importance here is extraction from the lower clause. There were a total of 16 instances, in which the object of the complement had been extracted. This is four tokens less than in the CLMET 2. As in the earlier data, four of Postal's (1994, 162) extraction types were identified:

(32) And the first question **with which** I *propose* to deal is, What is it to which Sir W. Thomson refers when he… (Restrictive relative extraction; 1894 Huxley, *Discourses*)
(33) This Intelligence Department, **which** I *propose* to found on a small scale at first, will have in it the germ of vast extension… (Non-restrictive relative extraction; 1890 Booth, *In the Darkest England and the Way Out*)
(34) I have only to tell your ladyship, now, **what** I *propose* to do next. (Question extraction; 1868 Collins, *The Moonstone*)
(35) **This** we *propose* to do also on a commercial footing. (Topicalisation; 1890 Booth, *In the Darkest England and the Way Out*)

There were a total of four cases of restrictive relative extraction, three of which occurred with the *to*-infinitive and thus followed Vosberg's (2003b, 308) extraction principle, as (32) here. (33) is the only example of non-restrictive relative extraction, and (35) is one of the two instances of topicalisation, both of which were found in the same text as (33). The most common extraction type in the CLMET 3 is question extraction with nine hits, in eight of which the lower verb is *do*. In all of the nine sentences *propose* occurred with a *to*-infinitive, which means that the extraction principle was only violated once:

(36) She only asked about the second letter **that** I had *proposed* writing. (1868 Collins, *The Moonstone*)

As there were four violations in the CLMET 2 data, it was speculated whether the Great Complement Shift has overridden the extraction principle. On the basis of the findings presented here, it seems to be the other way around: the Great Complement Shift has not affected *propose*, and thus the *-ing* clause complements have decreased rather than increased, which in turn leads to a decrease in the number of violations of the extraction principle.

In addition to extractions, material had been inserted between the matrix verb and its complement in altogether 14 tokens:

(37) When five o'clock arrived, Arthur *proposed* **without any embarrassment this time --** to take me with him up to 'the Hall,'… (1889 Carroll, *Sylvie and Bruno*)

As in the CLMET 2, in all 14 sentences the complement used was the *to*-infinitive rather than the -*ing* clause. Thus, the results are again in accordance with Rohdenburg's (1995, 368) complexity principle.

In the CLMET 3, the *to*-infinitive and -*ing* clause complements occur with the same senses as in the previous time period with the exception of the -*ing* clause having lost the single token of sense 5. However, some changes in the ratios have taken place. Firstly, sense 1 now appears to be more common with the *to*-infinitive than before: in the CLMET 2, 30 % of the tokens occurred with sense 1, whereas in the CLMET 3 the figure has come up to 37 %. One reason for this might be the dominance of Booth's *In Darkest England and the Way Out* over this complement pattern, as in the text in question 48 % of the *to*-infinitives occur with sense 1. If the 23 hits for the *to*-infinitive complement in sense 1 and 25 in sense 2 in Booth's text are removed from the total counts, we are left with 38 instances of sense 1, 66 of sense 2, and 11 of sense 5, which lowers the percentage of sense 1 closer to that in the CLMET 2, namely 33 %. However, the results have moved further away from those in the dictionaries, as 29 % of the *to*-infinitives in the dictionaries were found with sense 1 (see Table 8).

Secondly, sense 5 occurred just once with the *to*-infinitive in the CLMET 2, but in the later data it was encountered eleven times. On a closer inspection it is noticed that seven of these came from the same text, Bagehott's *The English Constitution*. This difference is a matter of text types rather than change, although it should be reminded that in the CLMET 2 the NP occurred in this particular sense slightly more often.

Finally, the -*ing* clause was found with sense 1 in 22 % of the tokens in the period 1780-1850, whereas in 1850-1920 half of the -*ing* clauses were complements of *propose* in sense 1 and half in sense 2. These results, too, are less in accordance with the dictionaries than what was found in the

CLMET 2. However, the decrease in the total number of *-ing* clause complements might be the reason for this difference: there were just twelve tokens in the CLMET 3, which might be too low a number to reflect the actual division of the pattern between senses.

As regards the control tendencies of *propose*, the most dominant control type is subject control, as expected. However, there is a major difference in the number of the speaker/hearer type of control, which seems to include both the speaker and the hearer(s) of the sentence, in the two subcorpora. In the CLMET 2, there were just four instances of this type of control, whereas in the CLMET 3 there are at least 38. Out of the 38 cases, 30 came from just three separate texts: 20 from Booth's *In Darkest England and the Way Out*, and 5 from both Bagehott's *The English Constitution* and Wells' *Mankind in the Making*:

(38) I already described how I *propose* to deal, in the first case, with the mass of surplus labour which will infallibly accumulate on our hands… (1890 Booth, *In Darkest England and the Way Out*)
(39) …and such perhaps as no Government ever had before--that Government *proposed* to keep a moderate surplus and to apply it to the reduction of the debt, but even this the English Parliament would not endure. (1867 Bagehott *The English Constitution*)
(40) This is a curiously indirect way towards what one might call Galtonism. Practically he *proposes* to endow mothers in the name of education. (1902-03 Wells, *Mankind in the Making*)

In (38) the speaker, *I*, makes a suggestion on how they should deal with the situation. It is clear from the context that more people than just the speaker will be involved in the solving of the situation, as the problem is said to "accumulate on **our** hands". As with the instances in the CLMET 2, the sentence could be rephrased to have a *that*-clause complement instead, and the *that*-clause would have *we* as a subject:

(38') I *propose* that we deal with the mass of surplus labour…

In (39) the action of keeping involves both the Government and the Parliament, and the subject of the *that*-clause would be *they*. In (40), *he* is again not doing the endowing alone, but is rather suggesting it as a course of action for those present.

This speaker/hearer type of control is mainly attested with sense 1, as in (38) and (40), where the context does not imply a meeting in the physical sense. In (39), on the other hand, the proposal

can be expected to have been made in a gathering of both the Government and the Parliament, and it is thus an example of sense 5, as are the four other instances of the control pattern in Bagehott's text. In addition to these, there was one example of sense 2 with speaker/hearer control in the data:

(41) General Hunter had *proposed* to push on the next day to Hosh-el-Geref, but the fatigues of his troops in the two night marches had already been severe, and as, after Abu Haraz, the track twisted away from the river so that there was no water for five miles, he resolved to halt for the day and rest. (1899 Churchill, *The River War*)

In (41) the meaning of *propose* is "intend", but the rest of the sentence shows that the General was not intending to push to Hosh-el-Geref alone, but for him and his troops to do it. However, it could be argued that *General Hunter* is here used a synecdoche to refer to his troops in general similarly to Napoleon in *Napoleon invaded Italy* and Washington in *Washington crosses the Delaware*. Whether the historical prominence of Napoleon and Washington plays a role in their ability to be used in such constructions is beyond the scope of this thesis, but it can be argued that the final clause of example (41), "he resolved to halt for the day and rest", supports my initial analysis of the speaker/hearer type of control: the decision to halt is made by him, as the subject of the clause indicates, which suggests that the proposing was also done by him alone.

Lastly, the theta roles of *propose* in the CLMET 3 are well in accordance with those in the CLMET 2: both *propose* and the lower verb almost unexceptionally take the role Agent. In this later data, there were altogether five exceptions to this, all with sense 2:

(42) May I ask you when you *propose* to be married? (1891 Gissing, *New Grub Street*)
(43) I mean to write, and *propose* to sleep at her house. (1859-60 Collins*, The Woman in White*)

In three of the exceptional cases the reason for the lower subject having the role Theme instead of Agent is that the lower verb has been passivised, and the subject of the auxiliary *be* is actually the object of the main verb, *marry* in (42), if the sentence is changed into the active. In addition to (43), there was one other example in which the subject of the lower verb is considered to have the role Experiencer. In the earlier data no such verbs occurred in the dependent clause. Furthermore, the *to*-infinitives provided three additional instances of inanimate subjects of *propose*, two in Booth's text and one in another text:

(44) We may repeat here that these pages *propose* mainly to show one thing… (1912 Chesterton, *What's Wrong with the World*)

5.3.2.2 *That*-clauses

The *that*-clause complement has retained its position as the third most common complement of *propose* in the CLMET 3 with 37 hits, although its use has clearly decreased from the earlier period. Instead of the previous 17.4 %, *that*-clauses only account for 9.8 % of the complements of *propose*, and the normalised frequency has dropped from 14.05 to 9.25. Thus, the *to*-infinitive might have gained ground at the cost of the *that*-clause complements as well as the *-ing* clauses.

The decrease in the number of *that*-clause complements is directly reflected in the occurrence of both the *that*-clause with the complementiser omitted and the *to* + NP + *that*-clause pattern:

(45) Let no one run away from this with the statement that I *propose* such a thing should be done… (1902-03 Wells, *Mankind in the Making*)
(46) …as the little lawyer, with a steady smile, *proposed* to the great landlord that they should have the estates between them. (1914 Chesterton, *The Wisdom of Father Brown*)

(45) is the only example of the omission of the *that*-complementiser, and the reason for the omission here seems to be based on the *horror aequi* principle: the *that*-clause is embedded in another *that*-clause, in which the complementiser is spelled out. Of the 37 *that*-clause complements just 20 involved some kind of a complexity factor, for example an insertion between the matrix verb and the *that*-clause or a long and/or discontinuous *that*-clause, which would have prevented the omission of the complementiser according to the Complexity Principle (Rohdenburgh 1996, 149).

As for example (46), there was just one additional example of the *to* + NP + *that*-clause complement. In both sentences the complementiser is present, and in the other token it could not have been omitted without a violation of Rohdenburg's (ibid.) theory, because of the length of the subordinate clause. On the other hand, the additional *to* + NP inserted between *propose* and the *that*-clause adds complexity in itself, which makes it unlikely for *that* to be left out, as Vosberg (2003a, 210-211) suggests.

As in the CLMET 2, the *that*-clause patterns prefer sense 1 of *propose*: 35 of the 37 *that*-clause and both instances of the *to* + NP + *that*-clause complements occur with that particular sense. Additionally, there are two examples of sense 5, but no examples of sense 2, which was found once in the earlier data. This preference of sense 1 is reflected in the content of the *that*-clauses, as in 27 of the simple and both of the more complex *that*-clause complements the verb *should* appears. Proportionally, this is slightly more than in the CLMET 2 (67 % vs. 73 %). Additionally, *shall* can be found in four tokens.

As in the earlier data, the theta structure corresponds to that of nominal complements: the subject of *propose* has the role Agent, the *that*-clause is the thing proposed, i.e. Theme, and in the more complex variant the *to* + NP is a Goal.

5.3.2.3 Other sentential patterns

After the discussion of *that*-clauses we turn to patterns related to those discussed in Section 5.3.2.1, as there were seven instances of the *to* + NP + *to*-inf. and five of the NP + *to*-inf. complement in the CLMET 3:

(47) [H]er suspicion had then been first excited by his displeasure at her *proposing* to him to return it… (1865 Yonge, *The Clever Woman of the Family*)
(48) …and he asked me what I meant to do with it; *proposed* a Charity to be established on behalf of decayed half-castes… (1870 Meredith, *The Adventures of Harry Richmond*)

The frequency of the *to* + NP + *to*-inf. pattern has remained approximately the same with the normalised frequency of 1.75 compared to 1.89 in the CLMET 2. In Section 5.2.2.3 it was speculated that the complement might have disappeared approaching current English, as it was not found either in the grammars or the advanced learner's dictionaries, but either that is not the case or the change has become visible later than in this period.

The pattern in (47) occurs exclusively in sense 1 in the CLMET 3, and the distinctive control pattern of the complement has remained the same, as in all seven instances the NP of the *to* + NP part, *him* in (47), controls the subject of the *to*-infinitive. The results are in accordance with Poutsma (MS) and the *OED*, since the single instance of sense 2 in the CLMET 2 did not have a

parallel in the later data. What comes to the theta roles of the pattern, the subjects of both *propose* and the lower verb are Agents, and the *to* + NP is a Goal in all seven cases.

Surprisingly, the pattern in (48) has increased in use, the normed frequency having grown from 0.54 to 1.25, so there might, after all, be some justification for Quirk et al. (1985, 1181) including the pattern as a possible complement of *propose*. However, the construction is still relatively rare and it is difficult to make any certain conclusions on the basis of these figures.

The increase of frequency is reflected in the more varied behaviour of the pattern. In addition to one example of restrictive relative extraction, the complement is also found with non-restrictive relative extraction:

(49) Apart from the independent agencies employed to prosecute this class of enquiries, **which** it is *proposed* to very largely increase, the Army possesses in itself peculiar advantages for this kind of investigation. (1890 Booth, *In Darkest England and the Way Out*)

Both examples of extraction with the pattern are found in Booth's text.

Another distinctive thing about the NP + *to*-inf. complement in Booth is the type of verb used in the dependent clause: *increase* here and *benefit* in the other example. In the occurrences of the pattern in the CLMET 2, both the NP and the subject of the *to*-infinitive it controls were assigned the theta role Theme, because of the passivisation of the lower verb. This was also the case with (48) and one additional instance, but in the remaining three examples the lower clause was in the active. In one of these the subject of the lower verb had the typical role Agent, whereas the verbs in Booth's sentences do not really require an action from the subject. After a careful consideration of the two tokens I arrived at the conclusion that the subjects must be Sources in Haegeman's (1991, 41-42) categorisation:

(50) X proposed Y to benefit Z. → Z benefits from Y.

Although *increase* cannot be similarly rephrased, the idea is the same: Z gets something from Y that results in an increase.

As regards the senses of *propose*, in Booth's sentences the difference in the type of verbs used and the theta roles assigned is also reflected in the meaning of the matrix verb, which is that of

sense 2, *to intend*. The token with an Agent lower subject also occurs with sense 2, whereas (48) is an example of sense 1 and the final occurrence is in a meeting context, i.e. sense 5. The results in the CLMET 3 thus resemble those in the dictionaries more than the previous data did: in Table 8 NP + *to*-inf. had one occurrence with sense 5, and there was an additional example of sense 2 that was not included in the table because of the time constraint.

Where the more complex *to*-infinitive patterns had either retained their position or increased in frequency, the poss. + *-ing* pattern found three times in the CLMET 2, seems to have altogether disappeared, which reflects the overall decrease of *-ing* clause complements as well as the fact that the pattern was only exemplified in Poutsma (MS). In addition to the poss + *-ing* clause complement, the quote was not found in the CLMET 3, which might indicate a preference of NPs over quotes with sense 6. However, one instance of a sentential complement not found in either the dictionaries or the CLMET 2 was identified:

(51) He cannot go down to Congress himself and *propose* <u>what he wants</u>: he can only write a letter and send it. (1867 Bagehott, *The English Constitution*)

In (51) the complement of *propose* is a *wh*-clause, which functions similarly to a *that*-clause, and thus has the role Theme. The meaning of *propose* is that of suggesting something at a formal meeting, i.e. sense 5.

5.3.3 Review

In the CLMET 3 a total of 15 complement patterns were identified, which is two less than in the CLMET 2. The most common complements are still the *to*-infinitive, the NP, and the *that*-clause, accounting for 76 % of all the tokens, but the *to*-infinitive has overtaken the position of the NP complement as the most common one. Of the complements found in the CLMET 2, NP + NP, poss + *-ing*, and quote have disappeared from use, whereas the *wh*-clause has emerged.

The three patterns exemplified in the dictionaries but not found in the CLMET 2 do not occur in this later data either. The complements given in the grammars are all present in the CLMET 3, although the *to* + NP + *that*-clause has decreased in use. The NP + *to*-inf. pattern, on the other hand, has more than doubled its frequency.

The theta roles follow the same tendencies as in the CLMET 2 with some changes in the occurrence of the Experiencer role: *propose* takes no Experiencer subjects, which means that the meaning "to anticipate" might have disappeared coming to the time period 1850-1920. However, there are two instances of the lower subject having the role Experiencer, and another two that take the role Source. Furthermore, in a total of six tokens *propose* has an inanimate subject, which was not a possible feature in the CLMET 2. A summary of the senses of *propose* with each complement pattern is found in the table below.

Complement	1. To suggest a plan or an idea	2. To intend to do something; to set, state, or have as an aim, end, or object; to anticipate	3. To put something (a question, an explanation, etc.) forward for consideration or discussion	4. To make an offer of marriage	5. To suggest something for acceptance or voting at a formal gathering or similar circumstances	6. To suggest (a subject of) a toast
NP	65		4		12	5
to + NP				8		
to + NP + NP	3		1			
NP + *to* + NP	9	4		2	1	
for + NP				4		
NP + *for* + NP	3				2	
NP + *as* + NP	2				1	
to + NP + *to*-inf.	7					
NP + *to*-inf.	1	3			1	
to + NP + *that*-cl.	2					
wh-clause					1	
that-clause	35				2	
to-infinitive	61	91			11	
-*ing* clause	6	6				
∅	12	5		7		
Total	206	109	5	21	31	5

Table 12. Sense and structure in the CLMET 3.

Despite the disappearance of the NP + NP pattern, sense 1 is still the most varied one, occurring with twelve different complement patterns. Sense 5 has become more varied than in the CLMET 2 with a total of eight patterns, which is three more than in the CLMET 2. Sense 2 has started to prefer sentential complementation more clearly, as the only non-sentential hits are with the NP + *to* + NP pattern. Sense 6, on the other hand, has lost the sentential tokens, and has joined senses 3 and 4 in preferring non-sentential complementation.

5.4 *Propose* in the BNC

Of the 368 hits of *propose* in the BNC, 145 were with *propose*, 11 with *proposes*, 156 with *proposed*, and 56 with *proposing*. The ratio of *propose* and *proposed* resembles that in the CLMET 3 after the exclusion of tokens from Booth's text. *Proposes* is clearly the rarest of the forms, whereas *proposing* now accounts for 15 % of the hits, the figure being 7 % in the CLMET 2 and 5 % in the CLMET 3. This change might indicate an overall increase of the gerund in English, which is in turn reflected in the Great Complement Shift.

Although *proposing* has become more common relative to the other forms, the use of the verb has decreased drastically: there are less hits in the BNC data than in the CLMET 3 data, although the total word count for the subcorpus is more than four times the total number of words in the CLMET 3. This is of course directly reflected in the normalised frequencies of the totals, the figure having decreased from 94.25 to 22.30.[10] On the basis of these observations, a decrease in the complement patterns used with *propose*, or at least in the frequency of the rarer patterns, is expected. Table 13 summarises the findings.

[10] For the calculation of the normed frequencies the word count of the imaginative prose domain of the BNC was rounded to 16,500,000.

Complement	*Propose*	*Proposes*	*Proposed*	*Proposing*	Total	%	NF/million
NP	23	2	51	16	92	25.0	5.58
to + NP	11		24	1	36	9.8	2.18
to + NP + NP			2		2	0.5	0.12
NP + *to* + NP	3		2	2	7	1.9	0.42
NP + *for* + NP			2		2	0.5	0.12
NP + *as* + NP	1		1		2	0.5	0.12
NP + *to*-inf.			1		1	0.3	0.06
to + NP + *that*-cl.			2		2	0.5	0.12
wh-clause				1	1	0.3	0.06
that-clause	15	1	17	2	35	9.5	2.12
to-infinitive	70	7	23	28	128	34.8	7.76
-*ing* clause	8		2	1	11	3.0	0.67
quote	1		2	1	4	1.1	0.24
∅	13	1	27	4	45	12.2	2.73
Total	145	11	156	56	368	~100	22.30

Table 13. *Propose* in the BNC. Number of tokens by verb form, percentage, and normalised frequency for each complement pattern.

All of the 14 complement patterns are discussed below in the manner familiar from Sections 5.2 and 5.3.

5.4.1 Non-sentential complements in the BNC

This section focuses on the non-sentential complements of *propose*, starting with the NP complement, moving on to the more complex nominal patterns, and ending with a look at the zero complements.

5.4.1.1 NP

As Table 13 shows, the NP has remained the second most common complement of *propose*. Its 92 hits account for 25 % of the BNC data, which is slightly less than in the CLMET 2, but more than in the CLMET 3. However, the normalised frequency of the complement has gone down to

approximately one fourth of that in the earlier time periods, which reflects the overall decrease in the use of *propose*. This, together with the data being more modern, resulted in a lower number of unclear, ambiguous cases, and all tokens could be analysed on the basis of the guidelines set in Sections 5.2 and 5.3. Some typical examples are provided below:

(1) A0R 2336 Not too shattered when they arrived at the cottage to *propose* a round of Trivial Pursuit.
(2) CJT 1075 A Dutch businessman had *proposed* the idea, a wonderful invention…

The number of extractions has decreased further towards the end of the twentieth century, as a total of 29 NP complements were extracted. This is 32 % of the total number of NP complements, compared to 50 % in the CLMET 2 and 42 % in the CLMET 3. Ten of the tokens contained a restrictive and one a non-restrictive relative extraction, six a question extraction and twelve a pseudo cleft:

(3) HAS 505 The price *proposed* was on the open market and Stuttgart was happy to offer it. (Restrictive relative extraction)
(4) FET 1290 The next thing was the mutual offering of presents, which she *proposed*. (Non-restrictive relative extraction)
(5) HHA 2111 And if so, what solution would he *propose*? (Question extraction)
(6) CN3 548 Second, what he's *proposing* is dangerous. (Pseudo clefting)

As regards other kinds of complexity, no insertions between the matrix verb and the NP complement occurred in the data, whereas in eleven cases the NP had been moved because of the passivisation of *propose*.

The semantics of the NP complement are very similar to what was found in the CLMET 3, the only notable difference being that the NP complement was found with sense 4 in the BNC:[11]

(7) FS1 669 'He could not *propose* marriage, but he could propose an alternative alliance,' Jules said quickly.

Table 8 in Section 4.5 showed that the dictionaries contained two examples of the NP complement with sense 4. The findings in the BNC show that the descriptions in the dictionaries are more accurate than the two earlier sets of data led to believe. On the other hand, sense 2, which had disappeared from the sense and structure table coming to the period 1850-1920, has not reappeared,

[11] See Table 14 in Section 5.4.3 for an overview of the sense and structure of *propose* in the BNC.

which means that it really seems to have disappear from use with the NP complement somewhere between 1780 and 1920, as was proposed in Section 5.3.1.1.

The theta roles have remained constant throughout the centuries covered in this thesis, as the NP always takes the role Theme, and the subject of *propose* is an Agent with the exception of one case in the CLMET 2. However, the surprising discovery of inanimate subjects with *propose* in the CLMET 3 was also made in one token in the BNC:

(8) BNS 258 Alas for him, **the speech** *proposing* the loyal toast can sometimes take a very long time.

In (8) *propose* has the meaning of sense 6, which is further proof on the inanimate subjects not being bound to just one sense of the verb. However, there is just one example of an inanimate subject in the BNC data, and it is in this sentence with the dated expression *alas*, which means that it was probably a feature of the time period 1850-1920 rather than a permanent development in the behaviour of *propose*.

5.4.1.2 Other non-sentential NP patterns

The more complex non-sentential NP patterns reflect the changes of the NP complement, although the frequencies of the patterns have dropped even lower than to one fourth of those in the CLMET 3. The changes, however, are not as clearly visible as with the NP complement, as the patterns are used much more rarely in all time periods. One pattern, namely *for* + NP, has disappeared from use altogether in the most recent data.

On the other hand, a parallel complement, i.e. the *to* + NP complement, is the only pattern that has increased in use coming to the latter half of the twentieth century: it has a total of 36 occurrences in the imaginative prose domain of the BNC, which gives it a normalised frequency of 2.18. Its proportion of the complements of *propose* has changed from 2.3 % in the CLMET 2 to 2.1 % in the CLMET 3, and finally to as high as 9.8 % in the BNC. Although the *to* + NP complement seems to have been used less in the CLMET 3, it has to be born in mind that as many as 77 tokens of *propose* came from Booth's *In Darkest England and the Way out*, and those included no

examples of the *to* + NP pattern. Without that text, the proportion of the complement would have been higher in the CLMET 3 than in the CLMET 2, and indeed, the normalised frequencies for each set of data show that the pattern has been increasing steadily in use since 1780: 1.89 grew to 2.00 in the CLMET 3, and finally 2.18 in the BNC.

Four of the more complex non-sentential NP patterns occurred with extractions: *to* + NP, NP + *to* + NP, NP + *for* + NP, and NP + *as* + NP all had one extraction each, the first and third with restrictive relative extraction, the second with pseudo clefting, and the last with question extraction. The overall number of extractions is thus lower than in the CLMET 3, as was the case with the NP complement. This might have something to do with the verb becoming less frequently used: if "more explicit [grammatical options] will tend to be favored in cognitively more complex environments", as Rohdenburg (1996, 151) states in his Complexity Principle, it might be that elements that make sentences more complex, are avoided with less familiar verbs. This is of course just speculation, as the data is only restricted to one verb, and more research would have to be done on other verbs that have become less frequent in use over time to arrive at any reliable conclusions. Nevertheless, the lack of insertions and the low number of passives with the more complex NP patterns point at a similar direction, and all six passives were found with the pattern that has increased in use over time, i.e. *to* + NP. Furthermore, Rohdenburg (1996, 160) comments on this in relation to *that*-clause complements: "Clearly, the degree of formality of a given verb is largely reflected in its frequency of occurrence. Now if less common and, therefore, less familiar verbs tend to involve a greater processing burden, then the increased use of *that* with more formal verbs could perhaps be attributed – in part at least – to the complexity principle."

The *to* + NP pattern was found exclusively with sense 4 as in the previous data. As for the other patterns, the *to* + NP + NP, NP + *as* + NP, and NP + *to* + NP patterns were found with fewer senses, probably due to the decrease in frequency. The first two were only found with sense 1, whereas the last one occurred with senses 1 and 4 as opposed to 1, 2, 3, and 5 in the CLMET 2 and 1, 2, 4, and 5 in the CLMET 3. NP + *for* + NP was found once with both sense 1 and sense 5, the

senses being the same as in the previous time period. However, a higher number of sentences like (9) was to be expected on the basis of the dictionaries:

(9) H9L 2658 I just knew I was inspired when I *proposed* you for this job here, that it would come back to me in some incredible way.

The theta roles are similar to what has been discovered in the previous sections: the *to* + NP complement has the role Goal or Benefactive, depending on the tone of the sentence and one's view on receiving an offer of marriage, the simple NP of the more complex patterns is a Theme, and the *to* + NP, *for* + NP, and *as* + NP part is a Goal.

5.4.1.3 Zero complement

The zero complement occurred a total of 45 times in the imaginative prose domain of the BNC. Although the normalised frequency of the complement has decreased by half, its proportion of all complements of *propose* had doubled to 12.2 %. This probably explains why it has not gone down in frequency as much as many of the other non-sentential complements discussed above. There were five kind of zero complements in the data, which is more than in either part of the CLMET:

(10) FNT 3215 'Why no, it hadn't occurred to me to *propose*.'
(11) A6N 572 'Man *proposes*…'
(12) HH0 3752 He has an arrangement to *propose* as you guys wanted to stay here longer.
(13) HH1 575 'Such arrangements as are *proposed* take time to consider, Lord fitzAlan,' she pointed out.
(14) AN7 2229 'There's whisky if you'd like a drop?' the man *proposed*.

(10) is an example of a regular zero complement, which was encountered 34 times in the data. Most of these were examples of sense 4, which has clearly become the most common sense with the zero complement with 31 hits. In the CLMET 2 and 3, the most common sense was sense 1.

(11) is the only case in which *propose* is contrasted with *dispose*. Although *dispose* is not spelled out, it is clear what the sentence aims at, and in fact on the next line another person ends the sentence by saying "And God stays out of it". In the CLMET 2 *propose* was contrasted with *dispose* twice, whereas the construction did not occur in the CLMET 3 at all.

In three and two tokens in the CLMET 2 and 3, respectively, *propose* occurred with a zero complement following *have*, as in (12), which is the single instance of its kind in the BNC. In (13), on the other hand, *propose* is part of an *as*-clause. There were three such instances in the data, which is notably less than in the previous data (5 and 10 tokens), considering the size of the current subcorpus.

Finally, in example (14), *propose* follows a quotation in the form of a parenthetical, which did not occur in either of the previous sets of data. The construction resembles the structure of the quote complement, which was found in the CLMET 2, but as was stated in the discussion, Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 1026) separate them from each other: in the quote the quoted material is embedded in the reporting clause, whereas in (14) the verb follows the quoted material as a parenthetical.

In addition to the 31 cases of sense 4, the zero complement occurred once with sense 6 and 13 times with sense 1. The subject of *propose* took the role Agent in all examples, as expected.

5.4.2 Sentential complements in the BNC

Now we turn to the sentential complements in the BNC. The *to*-infinitive and -*ing* clause complements are discussed together in 5.4.2.1, *that*-clauses are considered in 5.4.2.2, and the section closes with a look at the other sentential patterns.

5.4.2.1 *To*-infinitive and -*ing* clause

As in the CLMET 3, the *to*-infinitive is the most common complement of *propose* in the BNC. The *to*-infinitive has a total of 128 hits:

(15) AN8 2289 It seems to me that you *propose* <u>to tell</u> is, on the basis of your researched, the right way to create super children, and then the right way to bring them up.
(16) F99 36 When Aunt Sarah arrived, *proposing* <u>to take</u> them both to live with her in Coniston, he had utterly refused to go.

The frequency of the *to*-infinitive complement had as much as doubled from the CLMET 2 to the CLMET 3 data. Although the extent of the change could be explained by the inclusion of one text, i.e. Booth's *In the Darkest England and the Way Out*, in the data, a re-calculation of the normed

frequency of the *to*-infinitive showed that its use had indeed increased, from 20.27 to 27.2 hits per million words. In the BNC, the frequency of the pattern has dropped down to 7.76, which is a similar change as the one seen with the NP complement above.

However, if we look at the *to*-infinitive with respect to the other complement patterns, it seems to have secured its status as the number one complement to be used with *propose* even further. In the CLMET 2, the *to*-infinitive was the most common complement of *propose* together with the NP with a percentage of 25.2 of all the complements, whereas in the CLMET 3 it had taken the lead position with 33.5 % excluding Booth's text completely from the calculations. In the BNC, then, the number has grown slightly more, as the *to*-infinitive accounts for 34.8 % of the tokens of *propose*. One reason for the increase since the time of the CLMET 3 might be the higher number of *to*-infinitives with the verb form *proposing* in the more recent data: in the CLMET 3 the *to*-infinitive was found with *proposing* just twice, i.e. 0.5 times per million words, whereas in the BNC there were 28 instances of a *to*-infinitival complement following *proposing*, i.e. 1.7 per million words. As the normalized frequency of the *to*-infinitive after *proposing* was 1.5 in the CLMET 2, the verb seems to have returned to its earlier behaviour.

As regards the "rival" of the *to*-infinitive, the *-ing* clause, it was encountered just eleven times in the current data:

(17) HNJ 1591 'When do you *propose* calling on Eddie Brady?'
(18) GW0 255 You've got jailbait written all over you and you're *proposing* walking the West End without a place to stay.

The normed frequency of the complement reflected the overall frequency of *propose*, as it had decreased from 3.0 in the CLMET 3 to 0.67. The proportion of the *-ing* clause complement in relation to the other patterns had also decreased slightly, and no signs of the Great Complement Shift affecting *propose* are found in the most recent data either: it seems that it is one of the verbs that behave opposite to the Great Complement Shift, as was speculated in Section 5.3.2.1.

The increase of the *to*-infinitive with *proposing* naturally results in an increase of cases where the *horror aequi* principle might have affected the selection of one complement over another.

However, example (18) is the only case in which Rohdenburg's (2003, 236) principle is violated, as the *-ing* clause complements *propose* in the *-ing* form. Since the overall frequency of the *-ing* clause complement is low, and there were no instances of the verb form *propose* in which the *horror aequi* could have played a part, the significance of the principle remains marginal to the complement selection of the verb *propose*.

As regards another principle, namely Vosberg's (2003b, 308) Extraction Principle, all of the 19 extractions found in the lower clause occur with the *to*-infinitive and thus are in accordance with Vosberg's theory. There were a total of six tokens of restrictive relative extraction, nine of question extraction, and four of pseudo clefting in the data:

(19) H0D 2099 I wasn't at all sure that I had any right to make the request **that** I *proposed* to make. (Restrictive relative extraction)
(20) CN3 430 '**What** do you *propose* to do about it?' he enquired. (Question extraction)
(21) AC2 361 Isn't that exactly **what** you are *proposing* to do in reverse? (Pseudo clefting)

Other type of complexity was also encountered with the *to*-infinitive complement, and not with the *-ing* clause. There were four instances of insertions in the data:

(22) JY1 1198 He of the, 'I *propose*, **after much thought**, to take you over as my girlfriend'!

In addition to this example, another one of the four cases of insertions comes from the same text, as the same sentence occurs earlier in the text, when the *he* in (22) makes the proposition.

The senses of the two patterns have remained constant throughout the centuries covered in this study, although there have been changes in the ratios between the senses, especially senses 1 and 2. The *to*-infinitive has clearly started to prefer sense 2 over sense 1 with 103 vs. 23 tokens in the BNC, giving us a ratio of roughly 5:1. In the CLMET 2, the number was roughly 7:3, and 3:2 in the CLMET 3. The *-ing* clause has gone back to its tendency of also preferring sense 2 after a 50:50 situation in the CLMET 3. Now it is well in accordance with the dictionaries. In addition, the *to*-infinitive had two examples and the *-ing* clause one example of sense 5 in the BNC. The occurrence of this sense depends largely on the style of the texts included in the data.

In all of the *to*-infinitive and *-ing* clause complements the subject of both *propose* and the lower clause had the theta role Agent. However, there was one example of an inanimate subject:

(23) AN8 1309 But when science *proposes* to manipulate the life of a human baby, the time has come to call a halt…

In (23), the subject of *propose* is the inanimate NP *science*. However, *science* is here used as a synecdoche: it refers to scientists working in genetics or a similar area rather than to the entire field of science.

The control structure in the BNC closely resembles that in the CLMET 3. As can be expected on the basis of the dominance of sense 2, subject control is the most common type of control in the data. In addition to subject control, there are at least 16 cases of the speaker/hearer type of control in the BNC, four with the *-ing* clause and twelve with the *to*-infinitive:

(24) A0U 419 Well, someone got up and said I couldn't *propose* throwing redcoats out of Belfast because there weren't any nowadays.
(25) FET 2205 That was before Stonehenge, in 1980, became enclosed in a concentration camp cage, designed to keep people out, not in, and that fence was built before a Frenchman *proposed* to preserve the crumbling Sphinx by encasing him/her/it in a transparent plastic skin.

In (24) the speaker, *I*, has proposed in a meeting of some sort that *they* throw "redcoats out of Belfast". This was the only example of sense 5 with the speaker/hearer type of control in the data. In (25) the situation is similar: a Frenchman has suggested that *they* "preserve the crumbling Sphinx".

In addition to these two types, there were also a couple of instances in which the speaker is not necessarily included in the subject of the lower verb:

(26) HWP 1236 You'd think I was *proposing* to give away her share to a cats' home.
(27) 'What we *propose* to do,' he said, in a voice which allowed no argument, 'is ask an estate agent, of your choice, to make an independent valuation of the property…'

The construction in both (26) and (27) seems to be parallel to the *to* + NP + *to*-inf. complement found in the previous data:

(26') You'd think I was *proposing* to her to give away…
(27') What we *propose* to you to do…

Although the object of the proposition is not spelled out in the construction, that seems to be the implied subject of the dependent verb. As there were no examples of the *to* + NP + *to*-inf. construction in the data, it might have been completely replaced by this "hearer type of control".

5.4.2.2 *That*-clauses

In both the CLMET 2 and the CLMET 3 the *that*-clause complement was the third most common complement of *propose*. However, it has been becoming less frequent, and as a result of that the *to* + NP complement has passed it in the BNC. As with most of the other complement patterns, the frequency of the *that*-clause has gone down to less than one fourth of that in the CLMET 3. Its proportion, however, has decreased only slightly after a greater drop from the CLMET 2 to the CLMET 3. In the earliest set of data, the *that*-clause accounted for 17.4 % of the tokens of *propose*, whereas in the CLMET 3 the figure was just a little more than half of that, i.e. 9.8 %, and 9.5 % in the BNC. Although the *that*-clause complement has lost its position to the *to* + NP complement, it is most likely that the increase in the use of the *to*-infinitive with *propose* has been the actual reason for the decrease in the number of *that*-clauses.

As in the earlier data, the omission of the *that*-complementiser is quite uncommon, as in nine of the *that*-clauses *that* was left out:

(28) HWN 3458 'What do you *propose* we do next?'
(29) AN7 3158 When she'd drunk that, Nevil *proposed* they danced again, and she agreed.

Taking into account the size of the subcorpora, this is more than in the CLMET 3 (one hit), but less than in the CLMET 2 (four hits), as regards frequency. However, proportionally it is more than in the earliest set of data, as there was a total of 52 tokens of the *that*-clause complement in the CLMET 2. Thus, Rohdenburg's (1996, 160) statement about the use of simpler and more explicit constructions with more formal verbs quoted in Section 5.4.1.2 seems to apply to many kinds of complexity, but not to the retention of the *that*-complementiser.

Four of the cases in which *that* is omitted are similar to (28), i.e. some element, either the complement of the verb in the *that*-clause or an adjunct, has been extracted to the higher clause. In one case the subordinate clause is very long, and Vosberg's (2003a, 210-11) idea of the Complexity Principle is thus not followed. In eight of the *that*-clauses in which the complementiser is retained, some type of complexity occurred, which means that there are 18 additional *that*-clauses in which *that* could have been left out without violating the Complexity Principle.

The *to* + NP + *that*-cl. variant of the complement has become even rarer than in the CLMET 3, as it occurred just two times in the data. In both of these the *that*-complementiser was spelled out, as in the previous data.

The division of the *that*-clause complements between the different senses of *propose* is parallel to that in the CLMET 3: the more complex pattern is only found in sense 1, whereas there are two hits for sense 5 with the simple *that*-clause complements. No examples of sense 2, which was found once in the CLMET 2, are found. Similarly, the theta roles have not changed: the *that*-clause is a Theme in all tokens, and the *to* + NP element is a Goal.

5.4.2.3 Other sentential patterns

In addition to the poss. + *-ing* pattern, which had disappeared coming to the time period 1850-1920, the *to* + NP + *to*-inf. pattern did not occur in the BNC, as was mentioned in 5.4.2.1 above. Instead, the quote had made a reappearance with four hits, and one token of both the NP + *to*-inf. pattern and the *wh*-clause were found:

(30) ASD 679 There was one moment when someone *proposed* ‘I think we should have a facilitator for this bit,’ and we just listened and passed it by, on with our own journey into the delicious unknown.
(31) G3J 1290 …or (d) requires modifications in the rules *proposed* to be made as to the persons entitled to use the canteen…
(32) CDE 891 What a ridiculously expensive excursion Winifred Shalcross was *proposing*.

In the CLMET 2 the quote only occurred with sense 6, but in (30) and one other token the meaning of *propose* was interpreted as sense 1 in the BNC. However, it might be a valid idea to formulate a separate sense for cases where *propose* either precedes a quotation or follows it in the form of a parenthetical, as it does not clearly belong to any of the six senses used in the analysis here. The remaining two tokens of the quote were examples of the already familiar sense 6. As before, the quote takes the theta role Theme.

(31) is the only case of object control in the current data, as the sentence would be rephrased as follows:

(31') They *proposed* the rules to be made…

As with most of the previous NP + *to*-inf. complements, the lower subject has the role Theme, as does the object of *propose*, because of the passivisation of the lower verb. The pattern has a very formal ring to it, and indeed the text in which it occurs discusses some kind of regulations in a meeting context. It was speculated in Section 5.3.2.3 that the increase of the NP + *to*-inf. pattern in the CLMET 3 might indicate that there is further support for the inclusion of the pattern in Quirk et al. (1985, 1181), but the BNC data does not confirm that.

Finally, (32) is an example of exclamatory extraction, and the only occurrence of a *wh*-clause in the BNC. It was also found just once in the CLMET 3, and not at all in the CLMET 2. The *wh*-clause, similarly to the *that*-clause, has the theta role Theme, and occurs with sense 1.

5.4.3 Review

There were a total of 14 complement patterns identified in the imaginative prose section of the BNC, which means that there is less variation in the complementation of *propose* in current British English than there was in the time periods 1780-1850 and 1850-1920. Since the CLMET 3, the *for* + NP and *to* + NP + *to*-inf. complements have disappeared from use, whereas the quote has made a reappearance. The *to* + NP is the only pattern that has increased in both its proportion of all the complements and in frequency. Furthermore, it has become the third most common complement of *propose*, passing the *that*-clause. The *to*-infinitive is still the most common of the patterns, followed by the NP.

The theta roles of the elements have remained similar to those found in the CLMET 2 and the CLMET 3. As in the CLMET 3, Experiencer subjects of *propose* did not occur in the BNC, which means that the meaning “to anticipate” has completely disappeared, as already suggested in the discussion of the previous data. Additionally, the subjects of the dependent clauses were either Agents, or, in a couple of tokens, Themes, and not Experiencers or Sources, which were both found in the CLMET 3. The senses or *propose* in the BNC are summarised in Table 14.

Complement	1. To suggest a plan or an idea	2. To intend to do something; to set, state or have as an aim, end, or object; to anticipate	3. To put something (a question, an explanation, etc.) forward for consideration or discussion	4. To make an offer of marriage	5. To suggest something for acceptance or voting at a formal gathering or similar circumstances	6. To suggest (a subject of) a toast
NP	66		3	5	10	7
to + NP				36		
to + NP + NP	2					
NP + *to* + NP	3			4		
NP + *for* + NP	1			1	1	
NP + *as* + NP	2					
NP + *to*-inf.					1	
to + NP + *that*-cl.	2					
wh-clause	1					
that-clause	33				2	
to-infinitive	23	103			2	
-ing clause	3	7			1	
quote	2					2
∅	13			31		1
Total	151	110	3	77	17	10

Table 14. Sense and structure in the BNC.

The most notable difference between the sense and structure in the BNC and in the previous sets of data is the increase of tokens with sense 4: in the CLMET 2 sense 4 occurred with just 5 % of the tokens, in the CLMET 3 with 6 %, and in the BNC it accounts for 21 % of the total number of hits. This change has probably been caused by the increase of the *to* + NP complements as well as the proportional increase of the zero complement, which clearly prefers sense 4. As regards another pattern that only occurred with sense 4 in the CLMET 2 and 3, the *for* + NP complement, the *OED* (s.v. *propose*, 4e) recognises it as a possible complement of the marriage sense: "[a]lso (now rarely) with *for*". As it is not found at all in the 16,500,000-word subcorpus of the BNC, the pattern must

indeed be extremely rare or altogether non-existent in current British English.

Apart from the changes with sense 4 the results are rather similar to those discussed in Sections 5.2.3 and 5.3.3. Sense 1 shows the most variation, occurring with twelve patterns. Because of the reoccurrence of the quote, sense 6 is found with both non-sentential and sentential complements as in the CLMET 2. Sense 5 reflects the tendencies of sense 1, whereas sense 2 prefers sentential complements. Senses 3 and 4, as before, are only found with non-sentential patterns.

6 Summary and concluding remarks

This thesis has examined the complementation of *propose* in British English from 1780 to the present day. After taking a look at corpora and corpus linguistics on a more general level, the field of complementation was introduced together with theories that were assumed to be relevant to the study of *propose*. The first half of the thesis closed with an analysis of *propose* in some of the most prominent dictionaries as well as grammars. The groundwork done in Chapters 2-4 provided a solid starting point for the analysis of authentic data in the latter half of the thesis. A total of 1,043 relevant tokens were collected and analysed from parts 2 and 3 of the CLMET and the imaginative prose domain of the BNC. The analysis in Chapter 5 proceeded chronologically from the earliest time period to the most modern data.

The 298 tokens retrieved form the CLMET 2 contained examples of 17 different complement patterns, nine of which were non-sentential and seven sentential. The most common complements of *propose* in this time period were the NP and the *to*-infinitive with 75 hits each. The two patterns accounted for 50.4 % of all the tokens. The third most common complement was the *that*-clause with 53 hits and 17.8 %. The structure of the CLMET 2 data is displayed in Figure 2.

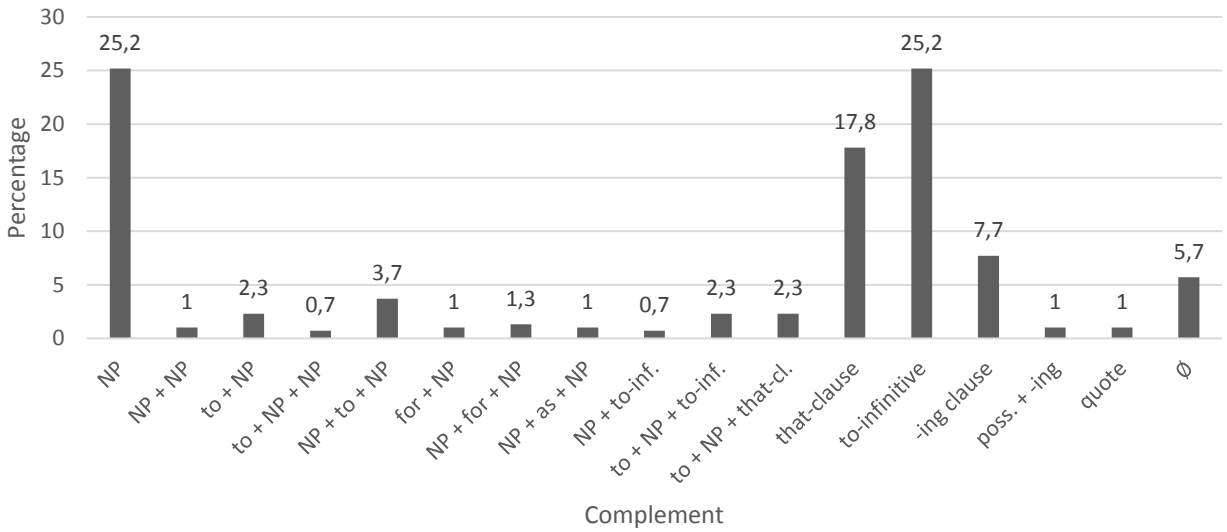

Figure 2. The structure of the data in the CLMET 2: the percentage of the total number of tokens for each complement pattern.

The searches in the CLMET 3 returned instances of 15 complement patterns adding up to a total of 377 tokens. Eight of these were non-sentential and seven sentential. The *to*-infinitive was clearly the

most common complement with as many as 163 tokens, converting to a percentage of 43.2 of the total number of tokens. Its normalised frequency had doubled from the CLMET 2. The reason for the steep increase in the use of the pattern was pinned down to one text, i.e. Booth's *In Darkest England and the Way out*, which contained 57 instances of *propose* with the *to*-infinitive complement. When this text was removed from the data, the numbers showed a more moderate increase of the *to*-infinitives. The NP, despite falling to the position of the second most common complement of *propose*, was roughly as common in the CLMET 3 as in the CLMET 2. The *that*-clause still followed the NP, but its frequency had dropped by one third from the 14.32 in the CLMET 2. An overview of the proportions of the complement patterns in the CLMET 3 can be found in Figure 3.

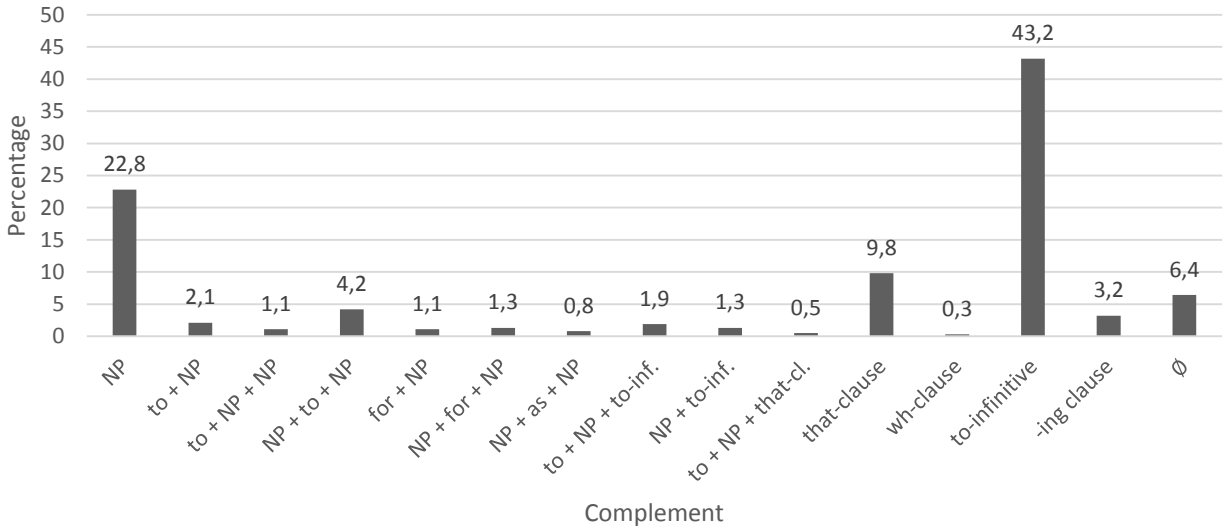

Figure 3. The structure of the data in the CLMET 3: the percentage of the total number of tokens for each complement pattern.

Three patterns had disappeared coming to the period 1850-1920: NP + NP, poss. + *-ing*, and the quote. The disappearance of the NP + NP pattern was to be expected on the basis of the dictionaries and grammars, as it was only exemplified once in the *OED*, and the example came from the year 1635. The poss. + *-ing* pattern, on the other hand, was only exemplified in Poutsma (MS, s.v. *propose*), and was already rare in the CLMET 2. Finally, the quote was not found in any of the grammars or dictionaries, so its low frequency was to be expected. Although three of the patterns of the CLMET 2 had disappeared, the *wh*-clause had emerged with one token.

The most recent data, i.e. the imaginative prose section of the BNC, returned a total of 368 tokens distributed among 14 complement patterns. The overall frequency of *propose* had dropped drastically: from 80.54 in the CLMET 2 and 94.25 in the CLMET 3 to 22.30. This change was reflected in the frequencies of almost all the complement patterns, as for most of them the normalised frequency had gone down to approximately one fourth of that in the CLMET 3. Despite the drop, the *to*-infinitive was still the most common complement of *propose* accounting for 34.8 % of the total with 128 hits. The NP had kept its second place with 92 hits and 25 %. The third most common complement, however, was no longer the *that*-clause, as the *to* + NP pattern, the only pattern to increase in relative as well as normalised frequency, had passed the sentential complement. A summary of the structure of the BNC data can be found in the figure below.

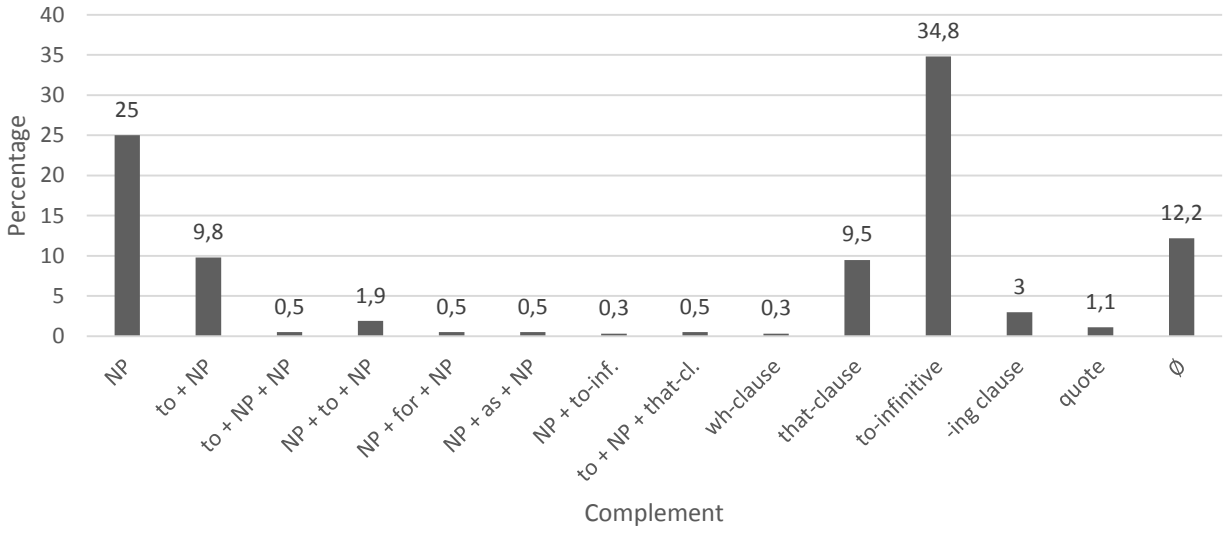

Figure 4. The structure of the data in the BNC: the percentage of the total number of tokens for each complement pattern.

The patterns that had disappeared since the time of the CLMET 3 were the *for* + NP and *to* + NP + *to*-inf. complements. Regarding the latter pattern, Rudanko (1989, 17) seems to be right in labelling the construction "very marginal" with *propose*. The quote, which did not occur in the CLMET 3, re-emerged in the BNC with four tokens.

Of the six senses of *propose* defined for the analysis of corpus tokens on the basis of four dictionaries in Section 4.2 all occurred in the authentic data. The most common ones were senses 1 and 2, although sense 4 showed a clear increase in the BNC data. The use of the more specific

senses, i.e. senses 3, 5, and 6, was marginal in all time periods. On the basis of the dictionaries the meeting sense (5) was expected to be more common especially in the latest set of data. In Section 4.2 it was mentioned that the general idea of senses 1, 3, and 5 is similar, and the main difference is the context in which they occur. As producing a highly detailed analysis of the semantics of *propose* was not the aim of this thesis, recognising just four senses for the verb, with a possible additional sense for reporting speech, could have been enough, especially since "to propose someone for a position" was found out to be relatively rare even in the BNC.

As regards the theta roles of *propose*, the results were fairly consistent from 1780 to the end of the twentieth century. Apart from a few examples in the CLMET 2 and 3, the subject of *propose* was an Agent in all tokens. In the exceptional cases the subject of *propose* took the role Experiencer, and the verb had the meaning "to anticipate". This sense was marked as *obsolete* in the *OED* (s.v. *propose*), and it did in fact disappear from use during the approximately 200 years covered in this study, as did the theta role strongly connected to it.

The thing that is proposed is in all patterns a Theme, whether it is an NP or a *that*-clause, and the person the proposition is made to is a Goal or possibly a Benefactive in some tokens of the marriage sense. In lack of a more suitable option, the NP in the *for* + NP and *as* + NP parts of the NP + *for* + NP and NP + *as* + NP complements was given the role Goal despite the semantic difference between these "positions" and the people receiving propositions in other examples of Goals.

As *propose* mainly took verbs of action as its sentential, non-finite complements, the understood subject of the lower verb was in most cases an Agent. However, some exceptions were encountered: due to the passivisation of the lower clause the understood subject sometimes took the role Theme. There were also a couple of examples of lower verbs expressing a psychological state in the CLMET 3 that took the theta role Experiencer. Furthermore, in two NP + *to*-inf. complements in the CLMET 3 the role of the lower subject was analysed to be Source because of the distinctive nature of the lower verbs.

Another distinctive feature of the CLMET 3 data was the emergence of tokens in which *propose* took a non-human, inanimate subject. There were six such examples in the data, and only two of them came from the same text, which means that inanimate subjects were not just a feature of one author's writing. The BNC provided one additional instance of an inanimate subject, but it occurred in a sentence with the archaic expression *alas*, which suggests that it was probably a characteristic of English only at the time of the CLMET 3 rather than a permanent development.

As regards the structure of *propose* and the grammars, all of the patterns mentioned, i.e. *that*-clause, *to* + NP + *that*-clause, *to*-infinitive, NP + *to*-inf., -*ing* clause, and poss. + -*ing* occurred in the data. The inclusion of NP + *to*-inf. and poss. + -*ing* as complements of *propose* was, however, somewhat of a surprise, as neither of the patterns were frequent in any of the subcorpora studied, and the latter one had disappeared from use completely coming to the end of the twentieth century. The picture formed on the nature of *propose* on the basis of the grammars was, all in all, insufficient, as even between the three of them the grammars consulted for this study were not even close to listing all the possible patterns of *propose*.

The dictionaries, on the other hand, were much more detailed and accurate in their descriptions of the structure of *propose*. Of the patterns mentioned or exemplified in the dictionaries (see Section 4.3), three did not occur in the data: the adverb and NP + *unto* + NP only occurred in examples dated before 1700, and could thus be expected to be non-existent in the data, whereas the *for* + NP + *in* + NP pattern was found in a sentence from the year 1931. All of these patterns were only exemplified in the *OED*. Furthermore, three patterns were identified in the data that did not occur in any of the dictionaries: *to* + NP + *that*-clause, *wh*-clause, and the quote. The absence of the first of these was the most surprising, as it was found in all three sets of data and was mentioned in the grammars. The *wh*-clause, on the other hand, was only found twice in the data: once in the CLMET 3 and once in the BNC, whereas the quote did not occur in the CLMET 3 but was encountered three times in the CLMET 2 and four times in the BNC.

Finally, we turn to the theories discussed in Chapter 3. The role of the *horror aequi* principle in the complement selection of *propose* was concluded to be secondary, as the tokens in which it could have affected the complement selection of the verb were relatively few. As a result, there were no violations of the *horror aequi* principle in the CLMET 2, and just one in both the CLMET 3 and the BNC.

All kinds of complexity in the sentences with *propose* decreased towards the present day, probably because of the verb becoming more formal in nature. Thus, the violations of both the Extraction and the Complexity Principle were fewer in the BNC than in the CLMET 2. In the earliest data four tokens contained a violation of the Extraction Principle and three of the Complexity Principle, two of which were, somewhat surprisingly, with *that*-clauses. In the CLMET 3 there was just one violation of the former, whereas in the BNC the latter was violated once.

The most interesting finding of the thesis is probably the control structure of *propose*. In addition to subject control, recognised as the control type of *propose* in the grammars, examples of object control with both direct and prepositional objects were found in the data. The former of the two types of object control occurred exclusively with the relatively rare NP + *to*-inf. pattern, and the latter, labelled PP-object control, with another infrequent construction, *to* + NP + *to*-inf. Furthermore, as Poutsma (MS, s.v. *propose*) suggested, the lower subject of *propose* was in some cases coreferential with both the speaker and the hearer of the sentence. This control type was surprisingly common, as there were more than 50 instances of it in the data. Additionally, some examples of just the hearer being coreferential with the understood subject were also encountered. The *to*-infinitives with hearer control were analysed to be parallel to the *to* + NP + *to*-inf. pattern, although the Goal of the proposition had not been spelled out. In the BNC these hearer control tokens seemed to replace the *to* + NP + *to*-inf. complement, as the pattern had disappeared from use. All of these rarer control constructions were closely related to sense 1 with just a few instances of sense 2 and sense 5.

The purpose of this thesis was to study the grammar of *propose* in detail from the point of view of complementation. In doing this I hoped to be able to track the changes in the complementation structure of the verb in the past 200 years. The results of the study show that complementation is an interesting, multi-faceted phenomenon that is constantly changing. The core complements of *propose* have remained the same in British English from the 1780s onwards: the *to*-infinitive and the NP are used most commonly throughout the time period covered in this thesis, whereas the *to* + NP has only recently become the third most common complement of *propose*. Other relatively frequent complements are, according to the data studied, the *that*-clause and the zero complement. The development of these five complements throughout the time period covered in the study can be seen in Figure 5.

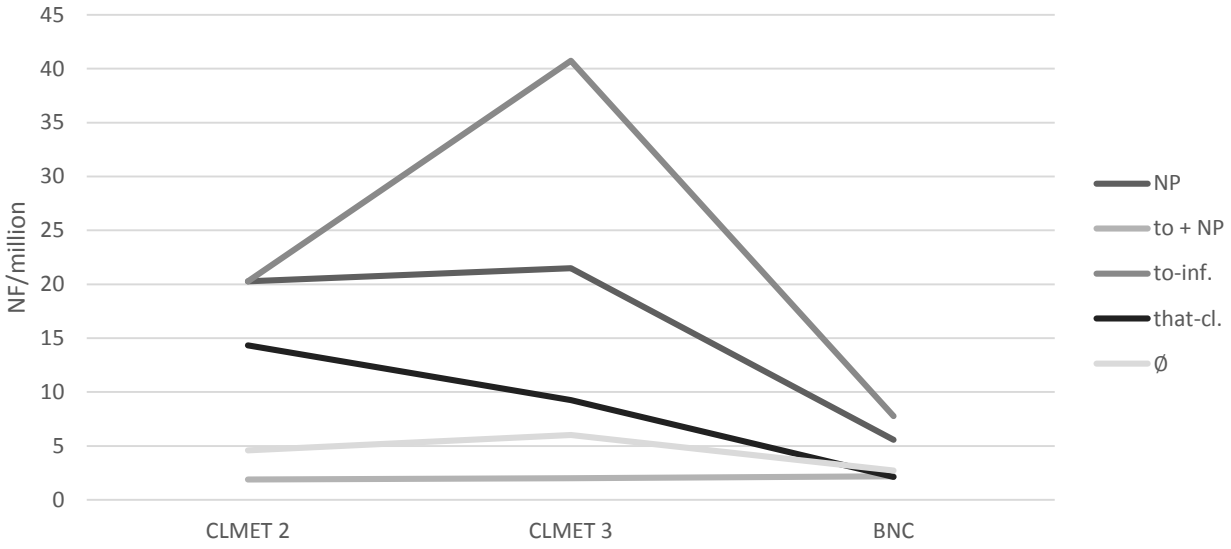

Figure 5. The development of the NP, *to* + NP, *to*-infinitive, *that*-clause, and zero complements in terms of normalised frequency.

On the basis of the findings, there is a need for further research on the sentential complements of *propose*, as some theories had to be set aside here because of space constraints. A comparison of different varieties of English, especially American and British English, would be interesting from the point of view of *to*-infinitives, *-ing* clauses, and the Great Complement Shift. Furthermore, the emergence of sense 4 and the patterns *for* + NP and *to* + NP is a research topic that could be studied in detail by including the CLMET 1 or some other earlier data in the material.

In the introduction I stated that in conducting studies like this we can make people more aware of the importance of complementation and units larger than words. The findings of the thesis can help advanced learners of English become more fluent in their use of the language, as they can, on the basis of the results, select the most commonly used, idiomatic constructions with each sense of *propose*. Furthermore, awareness of the control structure as well as the semantics of the verb can prevent misunderstandings in communication situations. After all, as Firth (1957, 11) once noted, "[y]ou shall know a word by the company it keeps".

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